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ABSTRACT

Each African nation-state has a number of language domains which together constitute a national language space. The proportion in which this space is filled by territorial languages, regional languages, or one of several nationwide languages and the exolect (foreign language that serves as the official language) varies with each country. But in virtually all African states there is a movement toward selection of a single symbolic language. While African countries had an undifferentiated multitude of territorial languages, the imported, official exolect had to fulfill all central public functions. However, with the selection of regional ethnolects or lingua francas, certain public functions are being transferred to the latter. For now, the exolects fulfill three functions as: (1) the official interethnic communication medium in all central government functions, (2) the chief medium of secondary and postsecondary education, and (3) the main link with the international community. The replacement process is a slow one, and sudden shifts in language emphasis have historically resulted in neglect of the exolect, which proves deleterious to the countries' modernization. Language complementarity of the official exolect and national endolect, a balance of linguistic powers with continuous adjustment, should be encouraged as a means to fill the national language spaces and provide the necessary means of communication at central, regional, and local levels until the process of electing a central national form can be completed. (MSE)

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Conrad B. Brann

Official and National Languages in Africa: Complementarity or Conflict?

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1. WHAT IS A 'NATIONAL' LANGUAGE ?

1.1 The ambiguity of the word 'national' as well as 'nation' is due to diachronic overloading of the notions. Whereas in European medieval use the ethnic factor was predominant in the use of 'nation' (e.g. the ethnic groups of students in medieval universities), the territorial and later the political factors increased in usage, until in the 19th century the latter dominated. But whilst there was clearly a semantic shift, the old meanings were not forgotten, so that today they co-exist: hence the possibility to make 'national language' mean the language of an ethnic group or people; the language or languages of a certain territory; or the language or languages of a political entity, the state. There may be even more meanings, but in the African context these three are most easily distinguished from the context in which they are used.

1.2 Starting with the grass-roots, the term 'National languages', French 'languages nationales' Portuguese 'lenguas nacionais' can be attributed to ALL languages within a given polity in Africa. A descriptive linguist might even add 'all speech forms', since the distinction between language and dialect is not clear-cut. In this inclusive use of the word 'national' reference is made to the part - the ethnic groups - , what is called 'nationality/ nationalities' in the Soviet Union - a practice taken over in the recent Constitution of Benin: "All nationalities shall be free to use their spoken and written language and to develop their own culture". A similar meaning is given to the concept in the post-revolutionary Ethiopian administration, or by Angola, as seen in the 1981 book 'Historico sobre a criaçao do alfabetos em linguas nacionais' (history of graphicization of national languages)[1]. The qualification for languages to belong to this category is that they must be indigenous, or considered naturalised, like the creoles of the islands and coasts. In some other writings, I have given the term 'chthonolect', or language of the soil, to this particular use of the word 'national'. It does not apply to all African languages within a country, since the languages

spoken by immigrant or temporary migrants, f.i. Akan speakers in Nigeria, would not be considered 'national' in this context. Whether European or other exogenous languages could be qualified under this heading, depends on the degree of their integration, i.e. of naturalisation, as with Arabic in the North, or Afrikaans in the South of the continent.

1.3 The second use of the 'national language' is the result of a choice of languages representing a multilingual community, in accordance with demographic, geographical, cultural, political, rarely linguistic and economic criteria.

Such a choice has been made by many African states within the past decade, irrespective of whether they belong to the Arabic, French, English or Portuguese-speaking block. In one instance, that of Zaire, the term has been used in this sense since the 1930's by chiefly Flemish administrators: Whereas it was at first attributed to French and Flemish, as the 'national languages' of Belgium, it was soon transferred to the four major languages Kongo, Luba, Ngala and Swahili, as for instance in the 1936 article by E. Bolaert 'Naar een nationale inlandsche taal in Kongo' (Towards a national internal language in the Congo) (Kongo-Overzee 2: 240). Now, of these four, the two first are ethnic languages contained within distinct regions, whilst the latter two are lingua francas with wider inter-ethnic functions. From this single example, it can be seen that the choice of representative languages can be made in accordance with several criteria, even in the same polity - here Zaire, one being ethnicity/territoriality, the other communicative competence. Zaire has no Waswahili, or ethnic Swahiliphone group, but the language is of considerable significance in the eastern part of the country, where a distinctive zairois (or Congolese) variety, Ngwana, has developed.[2]

National languages of this category, therefore, can be chosen for their ethno-demographic, their areal/zonal/territorial representative character, or precisely for their inter-ethnic, non-territorial, non-ethnic linking function. It is characteristic of this category of 'national' languages, that they are not also 'official' languages in the same state where the official language is European. But where the, or an official language is also Arabic.

the latter can have both a national and an official function. The number of such selected 'national languages' can vary between two, as in Togo (Ewe and Kabre), which represent the south and north respectively) and eight, as in Guinea (Doualamou 1980), where French remains the official language; or between three in Nigeria and five Ghana, where English is the official language. In the case of Mauretania, where both Arabic and French are official languages, four languages are considered 'national' i.e. Arabic, Soninke, Fula and Wolof (ACCT/CERDETOLA 1983:57). For this regionally or partially representative use of the term 'national language', I have previously coined the term 'choralect', or regional language, which will be used in this paper.

1.4 The third use of the term 'national language' applies to a single 'elected' language, which has become a symbolic attribute of the nation as a whole, i.e. which is identified with the state. In the definition of K. Mateene: "une langue nationale peut se définir comme celle avec laquelle un peuple peut choisir de s'identifier (a national language can be defined as one with which a people can choose to identify itself) (quoted by W. Bal 1979:240). For this category of 'national language' I have previously coined the term 'demolect' or language of a people, which will be used elsewhere in this paper. This has happened with Ethiopia, where Amharic, as the dominant ethnic and cultural language was imposed on the rest of the country by the late emperor Haile Selassie. Amharic became both THE national language, as well as the official language of the country. At the 1973 revolution, however, whilst Amharic maintained its status as sole official language, all ethnic languages (chthonolects) were added as 'national languages'. This example shows that it is difficult to impose an ethnic majority language as a single 'national' language in a multiethnic polity. The example of Tanzania, however, where Swahili is both the only official and national language shows that where an ethnic minority language is the lingua franca of a whole country, it is easier to elect it as the sole national language, in addition to which Swahili is also now the only official language of Tanzania.

In Nigeria, the term 'national' has been studiously avoided, but in a sense the three 'majority' languages - Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, perform some of the functions of 'national' languages in the 3rd category, whilst they also

perform functions in the regional of 2nd category. If the choice of a single language were possible, it would no doubt be Hausa, which is spoken as a second language by as many speakers as a first, i.e. which is both a dominant ethnic as well as a dominant non-ethnic language. But just because it is also a dominant ethnic language, it is not acceptable to other ethnicities - at least for the present.

The converse is true of Zaire, where the inter-ethnic Ngala (Lingala) is the strongest candidate as THE national language, because it is a lingua franca. Yet the interests of the ethnic majority languages, Kongo, Luba strongly militate against such an election.

In Centrafrique (CAR), whilst Sango has been acclaimed THE national language, French has remained the sole official language, as Sango does not have the literary prestige attached to another lingua franca -Swahili (in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, etc.).

1.5 Pierre Dumont and Suzanne Lafage comment on the ambiguity of the term 'national language', the former in relation to Senegal, the latter concerning Guinea and Ivory Coast:

> "L'adjectif 'nationales' employé dans l'expression 'langues nationales' perd donc ici (chez Senghor) toute sa signification politique pour ne désigner que l'aspect culturel de ces langues. C'est là vraisemblablement, la véritable clé de la conception senghorienne de la francophonie et du rapport de la langue française avec les 'langues nationales'. C'est pour échapper à l'ambiguité née de l'emploi particulier de cet adjectif chez L.-S. Senghor, que tout au long de cette étude, jamais le terme de 'language nationale' n'a été employé. On lui a préféré, dans l'état actuel de la question, les termes de langues sénégalaises, ou africaines, ou négro-africaines" (Pierre Dumont: Le français et les langues africaines au Sénégal, Paris, ACCT, 1983:319) (The adjective 'national' in the expression 'national languages' thus entirely loses (with Senghor) its political connotation in favour of the cultural aspect of these languages. This is probably the real key to Senghor's idea of 'Francophonie' concerning the relationship between French and the 'national' languages. It is in order to escape this ambiguity resulting from Senghor's use of the adjective, that the term 'national language' has not been used in the present study. We have preferred, in the present stage, the use of the terms 'Senegalese languages', African languages, or Black African languages").

> And Suzanne Lafage: "Alors qu'en République Populaire Révolutionnaire de Guinée l'expression 'langues nationales' fait référence à six ou huit langues choisies comme véhicules et disciplines d'enseignement parmi les 20 langues que les recherches linguistiques ont mis à jour, en Côte d'Ivoire le référent de cette locution est assez indéterminé. Dans le passage de l'intervention de M. Jules Hie Nea au colloque du CILF à Dakar en 1976, le sénoufo, le bété, le malinké et le baoulé sont désignés comme 'Langues majoritaires'. D'autre part, la référence à l'expression 'langues nationales' dans l'article 67 de la loi du 1o août 1977 portant réforme de l'enseignement en Côte d'Ivoire ne semble pas viser spécifiquement les quatre langues ivoiriennes nommément désignées par Jules Hie Nea. Dans ces conditions, le concept de 'langues nationales' en Côte d'Ivoire est synonyme de 'langues du terroir ivoirien'.
>
> (ACCT/Cerdotola 1973:63).
> (Whilst in the case of Guinea the expression 'national languages' refers to 6 or 8 languages selected as media and subject of education among the 20 languages distinguished by linguists, the use of the same expression in the Ivory Coast seems indeterminate. In his contribution to the CILF symposium in Dakar of 1976, MR. Jules Hie NEA designated Senufo, Bete, Malinke and Baule as 'majority languages'. On the other hand, the term 'national languages' in article 67 of the Educational Reform Law of 18th August 1977 does not refer specifically to the 4 Ivorian languages so designated by the CILF speaker. Under these conditions, the concept of 'national languages' in the Ivory Coast is synonymous with 'languages of the Ivorian territory').

It is therefore necessary in a discussion of the relationship between national and official languages, to keep in mind the three different uses of national languages, as chthonolect or indigenous language, choralect or regional, also major-majority language and demolect or language of a whole people/ nation.

1.6 In the present fluctuation of the three categories described above, the question arises as to who chooses, designates or identifies 'national' languages. The cases where a language is designated as 'national' in the country's constitution are clear, but they are not in the majority (e.g. Ethiopia, Tanzania, Burundi). In other cases, special decrees or laws promote selected languages to the rank of 'national', as in Senegal (1971). But in many other cases the choice of national language (s) is not central. Being left to a particular ministry or other public institution, pronouncements have been varied as to which languages constitute those that are elected as 'national'

- showing the state of fluctuation posited. From the point of view of language planning, the process of choice is somewhat different in each category. Concerning the chthonolects, the process of recognition implies first the identification/definition of all indigenous languages, out of the greater number of existing speech forms. This is a linguistic, socio-linguistic as well as socio-political undertaking, and is done through sociolinguistic surveys, as well as censuses. It is well known that many former 'dialects' of a larger language, suddenly become independent 'languages' whilst the converse is also the case. A sociolinguistic survey or inventory must therefore be first accepted by a country's authorities, before recognition is given to the number of indigenous languages and the glossnyms are uniformly defined and spelt - a process that is far from being completed in most African countries. For instance, in Nigeria, government has accepted neither the linguistic survey map of C. Hoffmann, commissioned some ten years ago, nor yet the SIL's 'Index of Nigerian languages' of 1976: a country - wide survey has been proposed, though, by the National Language Centre in 1982.

Concerning the choralects, or regional 'national' languages, the process is one of language allocation or zoning, in accordance with their specific domains or territorial areas. Thus in Zaire (then Belgian Congo), Ngala was chosen as the lingua franca of the army and police, which it still is (i.e. a specific domain), whilst Kongo and Luba were designated for distinct regions. The most striking example of territorial or regional language-zoning is South Africa, where ethnic enclaves have virtually been created for the major groups. In Nigeria, the current call for more federated states is often allied to language claims, e.g. for the Igala, Idoma and Nupe-speaking peoples.

The selection, or one might say election of a demolect as a central or symbolic national language is difficult to achieve, if it was not done at independence. Yet in 1965 (i.e. 5 years after independence). Centrafrique established a commission to develop Sango, the lingua franca then elected as the national language. And in 1968 Chewa, the dominant ethnic language, was declared the national language of Malawi. In the former case French remained co-official, and in the latter English.

Table I

NATIONAL LANGUAGES IN AFRICA

1. ALL autochthonous/indigenous/territorial languages are considered 'national', in the sense that together they constitute the State. The use is common among francophone and lusophone states, one of which also uses the term 'nationalities'. This form of 'national language' is here styled chthonolect, or language of the soil.

2. SEVERAL national languages are selected, as representing the major peoples or regions, as being used for a specific public domain. This type of 'national language' is here termed chorolect, or regional language.

2.1 Regional languages based on territory & ethnicity:
e.g. Zaire: Luba, Kongo; Nigeria: Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba (as well as Edo Efik/Ibidio, Idoma, Igala, Nupe, Kanuri, Tiv - the language 'millionaires'); Sudan: Dinka for the South; Togo: Ewe/South, Kabre/North; Mali: Bambara etc. Xhosa, Zulu in RSA.

2.2 Several languages are selected, some of which serve as lingua franca (inter-ethnic communication), in addition to their territorial representation: Zaire: Ngala, Ngwana; Nigeria: Hausa; Cameroon: Fulfulde/North; Senegal: Wolof; Sierra Leone: Krio.

2.3 A lingua franca is selected as one of the national languages, which has no territorial status: Guinea: Dyula; Congo: Ngala; Monokutuba; Uganda: Swahili

3. A SOLE national language is elected, as symbolically representing the State. This type is here called demolect, or language of the people.

3.1 The demolect is the sole ethnic or cultural language, i.e. of at least 70% of the population:
e.g. The 'unimodal' states of central Africa: Rwanda, Burundi; of southern Africa: Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana; of the Indian Ocean: Madagascar - where the name of the language is also identified with the name of the country: Somalia. The Arab states of Northern Africa: the first and second belt.

3.2 The demolect is a dominant ethnic or cultural language, i.e. of 50% L1/L2 speakers e.g. Amharic: Ethiopia; Chewa in Malawi; Shona: Zimbabwe;

3.3 The demolect is a widely used lingua franca, with little or no ethnic affiliation d.g. Swahili in Tanzania; Sango in Centrafrique; Arabic in Chad.

3.4 The demolect is a naturalised exolect, i.e. a creole e.g. Créole in Seychelles, Crioulo in Cap Verde.

2. OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

2.1 In Africa, the term 'official' language is generally reserved for the central administration, except in federations like Nigeria, where it could apply to the state administrations also. Generally, in the countries of Roman and Arabic law, the official language is declared in the constitution, often in the preamble, as a national symbol; whilst in the states of Germanic (here British) law, official languages are attributed to specific branches of government - generally the Legislature, occasionally the Judicature, but rarely the Administration.

2.2 Since their independence from colonial administration over the past fifty years, African states were able to choose to continue the former exogenous administrative language as the de jure or de facto official language, - exoglottic policy -, to place an indigenous language beside it as co-official mixo-glottic, mixed or bilingual policy, or to replace the exogenous language by an indigenous one, which would also be the national language, or demolect endoglottic policy.[5] The first to replace the exolects were the Arab-speaking states of Northern Africa, where Turkish had for some time been itself succeded by English and French, and in the case of Libya, by Italian. The post WW2 years have seen the development of Arabic into both a national and an international language in Africa, beginning with Egypt in 1956 and ending in Algeria in 1962. In Egypt (98%), Libya (97%), Tunisia (95%), Algeria (80%) and Morocco (73%) - i.e. the trans-Saharan states - the first language of the population exceeds 70% necessary for linguistic stability. As frontline Arab countries, they have both an African and an Arabic identity and have powerfully developed the use of the national/official language in all branches of national life. But whereas Egypt and Libya have become virtually monolingual states, the three states of the Maghreb maintain layers of de facto Arab-French bilingualism at the centre and through the elites. The independencies of the 1960's saw Mauritania adopt at first Arabic and French as official languages, but later Arabic only, belonging to the second line, or Saharan arabophone states (80% speak Hassaniya, an Arabic colloquial form, as their mother tongue). Similarly the Sudan, in which Arabic and English were at first co-official, subsequently dropped the exolect. But here the percentage of first-language speakers is only 51%: the imposition of Arabic on the multilingual south caused revolts, resulting in an agreement on linguistic zones, though Arabic remains the sole official language.

Similarly one could add the more recently independent states of Djibuti and (Western) Sahara to the endoglottic Arab states. But in the former case, where French was maintained as official language together with Arabic, the national language is Afar, a form of Somali; whilst in the latter, where Spanish was dropped in favour of Arabic, the people are of Berber stock, but speak Hassaniya as a second language: these two states have not therefore been included here, but under the exoglottic category.

Ethiopia, which regained its independence from Italy after WW2, was the firts state to introduce a language other than Arabic as national/official language, with the Etho-Semitic Amharic. Though not spoken by more than 32% as first language, it was claimed that as many as 60% could use the language.[6] Whilst Amharic has maintained its position as sole official language since the 1973 revolution, it is no longer the sole national language, reflecting a similar development as that of Arabic in the Sudan.

From its independence in 1960 onwards, Madagascar has proclaimed both Malgache and French as official languages, but since the charter of 1975, the latter has been dropped, leaving the national language, spoken as first language by 98% as the sole official de jure, even if French continues to be used de facto in may central functions (Turcotte 1981).

In the case of Tanzania (resulting from the fusion of Tanganiyka and Zanzibar), the former official language, English, was replaced by Swahili, which had already been so used for administrative purposes by the German and British colonial powers. Whilst Swahili is spoken as L1 by no more than 10% of the P, population a very high percentage - some 90% - speak it as L2 in diglossia with their many vernaculars. Of all the sub-saharan languages, Swahili has been developed furthest to carry the burden of an official language, even though English has not disappeared from public view.

Summary of 2.1: Of the 10 African states in which the national is the sole official language, therefore, 7 are arabophone (Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Sudan and Tunisia), 1 (Ethiopia) uses a related Ethio-Semitic language with an ancient written tradition; 1 state uses a Polynesian, i.e. non-African language in the genetic sense; and only 1 state uses a 'Black African' i.e. Bantu (Niger-Congo) language - Swahili, which use is due to its wide diffusion as lingua franca, rather than to a dominant ethnicity.

2.2 Eleven states follow a mixoglottic, or bilingual official language policy: three states - Burundi, Chad, and Rwanda - use French in addition to their national/official language, Rundi, Arabic (Hassaniya) and Rwanda respectively. Whilst the former Belgian colonies of Rwanda-Urundi proclaimed their national - closely related and some say identical languages as co-official, Arabic was not so proclaimed in Chad until 1982, when Northerners came to power. Whilst Rundi and Rwanda are respectively spoken as L1 by 85% and 95% of those countries' populations, Arabic is said to be the L1 of only 12%, but the L2 of a much larger percentage of the total P, especially in the North of the country (U.N. 1982).

Six states use English in addition to their national/official L, i.e. Tswana in Botswana (64%), Swahili in Kenya (1% as L1, but 65% L1/L2 - IAI 1983), Sotho in Lesotho (99% UN and IAI), Chewa in Malawi (50% /and 77% L1 and L2), Créole in Seychelles (94%, UN) Afrikaans in South Africa (17.5% UN) and Swati in Swaziland (93% UN). These figures show that in the case of Botswana, Lesotho, Seychelles and Swaziland, as with Rwanda and Burundi above, the national/official language is spoken/used by an over-whelming majority, whilst in Kenya Swahili is gaining ground as lingua franca and in Malawi the major ethnic language is also used as L2 by a high proportion of the remaining population. As for Afrikaans in South Africa, it is said to be spoken by 29% as L1 plus L2, whereas the same figures for English are 6.6% as L1 and 24% as L1 plus L2 (Kloss 1979).

On coming into existence as a state in 1960, Somalia inherited two official languages, English for the northern and Italian for the southern region. The revolution of 1969 led to the adoption of Somali as the national language, which was followed in 1973 by its proclamation as the sole official language, three months after it had been successfully transformed to writing (Adam & Geshekter 1980). Since Somali is spoken as first L by 95% of the population, the motivation was similar to that of Madagscar.

One state uses Arabic as official L, in addition to the national/official language, Somalia. With the exception of Créole and Afrikaans, which are creoles of French and Dutch respectively, and Somali which is Cushitic, the above national/official languages are of the Bantu family, of which only Swahili has a lingua franca function over a wide area; Rwanda/Rundi is also spoken over a

region including Rwanda, Burundi and parts of Uganda, Zaire, and Tanzania (Wiley/DmYer 1980). Similarly Chewa (Nyanja) is spoken in several limitroph states of eastern Africa, whilst Sotho/Tswana (Ndebele) are spoken not only in Lesotho and Botswana, but also in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia. Swazi, belonging to the same group as Xhosa and Zulu, also belongs to a regional family. Yet the fact that national forms of these regional languages are developing will probably mean that a unification of them becomes more difficult, rather than easier, as seen in the cases of Rwanda/Rundi. This is tantamount to saying that the development of indigenous sub-Saharan languages as first national and then official languages will crystallise speech forms within national boundaries, where previously they served as regional languages. That this is even happening to Swahili, is seen by seperate forms arising in Central Africa (Ngwana) and East Africa. The price to pay for national/official languages is the cutting-up, or glossotomy, of larger, regional groups.

The extent to which the national/official, indigenous language, or endolect can coexist with the official exolect, will be discussed under the various domains of usage. One state has two official languages, in addition to the national/official language, the Seychelles. Whereas in the 1979 constitution, the two languages English and French preceded the national official language, Creole, since July 1981 the national language has been placed in first position (CONFEMEN 1982:313).

2.3 There are 30 states in which the exolect is the sole official language, one which has two and one which has three exolects making 32 in all.

Of these the greatest number are those having French as the only official language: Benin, Congo, Centrafrique, Gabon, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Togo, Upper Volta, Zaire, making 12 states. 9 states have English as their sole official L: Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Mauritius, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. 5 states have Portuguese as their sole burolect: Angola, Cap Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Sao Tomé & Principe. For reasons explained above, we count one state with Arabic as its sole burolect: (Western) Sahara, whereas 1 - Equatorial Guinea has Spanish. Two only states have two burolects/exolects Cameroon, with French and English and Comoros with Arabic and French. One state has three burolects Namibia, with Afrikaans, English and German.

The reason why these countries have not so far elected a national as an official language is that either they are too evenly multilingual to advance any one of their languages, or that though they have a common language as their 'national' language, like Mauritius (Créole), Cap Verde (Crioulo), Guinea Bissau (Crioulo), St. Thomas (Crioulo), Centrafrique (Sango), they are not yet considered sufficiently literate to carry the burden of officialdom.[7] This in itself would not be a hindrance, since Seychelles started with making Créole, its French-based creole, an official language, even though it is hardly written. In the others, selection of two to nineteen national languages of the regionally representative type (choralect - K) may eventually result in the promotion of one of them to THE national language. On the other hand the opposite may be the case in that, although there obviously is a candidate for a national language, the political situation does not want to favour its speakers. Thus in Benin, the National Language Commission is developing 19 out of the country's 52 scheduled languages[8], whereas Fon and related speech forms (Gun, Adja, Aizo, Mina) is spoken by at least 60% of the population. Fon, however, is the language of the Abomey/Dahomey Kingdom which to circumvent the name of the country was changed to Benin (which is a kingdom in the present Nigeria). In Congo, which has 32 languages (Ethnologue), and where the major ethnolect kikongo is spoken by some 50% as L1 (1A1 1980), the government has nonetheless declared its intention to develop two LL of wider communication (ww) which it shares with Zaire, namely Ngala and Munukutuba (CONFEMEN 1983:106). In Centrafrique with 48 LL, Sango was declared the national L since 1963, and is now attributed 98% speakers as L1 and L2 at the 1983 CONFEMEN conference. Gabon is said to have 24 LL (Ethnologue), of which Fang is the lingua franca of the capital and parts of the country, with 50% L1 plus L2 speakers (Morrison 1971): but this is an ethnolect, which is shared with Equatorial Guinea. The Ivory Coast boasts of 58 LL (Ethnologue), of which Anyi-Baule, Bete, Senufo and Dyula are unofficially recognised as 'national LL', the first three being ethnolects, the last a lingua franca 'véritable bambara pidginisé' (CONFEMEN 1983:123): none of these is spoken each by more than 30% of the population as L1-L3. Of the 18 LL of Guinea (Ethnologue), government is developing 8 as 'national languages'.[9] Of these, 2 LL, Mandinka and Fulfulde, are spoken each by an aggregate of 40% of the population (Unesco/BREDA, Morrison). These are moreover (ww) which link several francophone countries of West Africa with their anglophone

neighbours. For Mali, Ethnologue cites 23 LL. Whilst all of these are designated 'langues nationales' for literacy purposes (Ly in Sow 1977:278 ff), two of them, Bambara and Fulfulde have received special attention, which links the country with the policy of Guinea, with which it shares these (ww). For Niger, Ethnologue cites 13 LL,of which -Hausa, Songhai, Fulfulde, Tamasheq and Kanuri - are recognised as being spoken 'par les groupes ethniques les plus importants' (CONFEMEN 1982:229). Of these Hausa is more equal than the others, being spoken not only by over 50% as L1 speakers (Laya in Sow 1977:285), but also by the Fulbe (i.e. Fulfulde speakers), Touareg (i.e. Tamasheq speakers) and Kanuri as L2, as bilinguals, making an aggregate of 70% L1 and L2 speakers (Morrison 1972:306). In Senegal, of the 23 LL cited in Ethnologue, 6 - Wolof, Fulfulde, Serer, Dyula, Malinke and Soninke - were declared 'langues nationales' by presidential decree of 1971. Of these Wolof has easily more than twice the number of speakers than any of the others, with estimates ranging from 60-80% first and second L speakers (Morrison 1972, Unesco/BREDA 1972). It is patent, however, because Wolof is a strong ethnolect, why it has not been selected as the sole national language, in order to keep the peace - especially in the southern region (Casamance). However, Wolof is also developing as the lingua franca of Gambia, i.e. in the Senegambian Confederation. In Togo, of the 37 chthonolects scheduled in Ethnologue (Grimes 1978), Ewe and Kabyè have been selected as 'langues nationales' in the regional sense (choralects). Of the two, the former is the more widely spoken, both as an ethnolect, as well as a lingua franca - in the south, with an estimated 50% (Morrison 1972:361). Ewe is, moreover, the L that links Togo with Ghana and Benin, where the coastal continuum Eve/Mina/Fon/Gun has by one author been named 'Gbe'.

For Upper Volta, Ethnologue lists 41 LL, all of which have the status of 'national LL', i.e. chthonolects (the IAI 1980 list contains only 13 LL), but of these the ethnolect Moore (Mossi) is spoken by between 50-60% of the population (Unesco/BREDA, Roberts, Morrison, Heine), whilst the (w) Dyula is used by some 21% as L2. (CONFEMEN 1982:166 for status). For Zaire Ethnologue lists no less than 193 LL, which makes it one of the most multilingual of Africa, together with Camroun, Chad, Nigeria, Sudan and Tanzania. However, Zaire is unique in Africa, in having its 'national' LL already chosen for it by missionaries and colonial administrators in the 1020's, which policy has been

continued by the present administration: Kongo and Luba, 2 ethnolects, and Ngala and Ngwana - 2 ww, but each representing a region. Of the four, however, Ngala appears to be the favourite for demolect, i.e. THE national language. The history of this policy has been summarised in two theses by Ndoma 19?? for the years 1906-1960 and Nyembwe 1980 for the years since 1960, i.e. independence.

The same exercise could be made for those states that have chosen English, Portuguese or Spanish as their sole official exolect, or for those few states that have more than one European exolect. It is patent that in this largest category of states in our threefold typology (endoglottic, mixoglottic and exoglottic), the reason why no national language(s) have yet been 'promoted' to officialdom is the multiplicity of 'national languages' -chthonolects which has made even the choice of choralects or demolects difficult; the presence of equally powerful choralects (e.g. Zaire, Nigeria), or the unwelcome presence of an ethnolect more powerful than the others, but the election of which as demolect would not be acceptable to the nation (e.g. Senegal, Benin and even Nigeria). On the other hand we have already pointed out an additional reason, the insufficient 'prestige' of the lingua franca (e.g. Sango in CAR) to become an official language, or of the creoles in the creolophone states.

Of the 53 African states listed, therefore, 32, or two-thirds have chosen to retain the exolect as the sole official language, which thus plays a role not only of international language, linking the states with others in the pan-African, francophone, arabophone, lusophone and anglophone blocks, or generally internationally, but more importantly, as intra -national and inter-ethnic link languages. Though this specific function is taken on by Sango in Centrafrique, Crioulo on Cap Verde, Bissau and St. Thomas and Comorian on the Comoros which, except for CAR, are really 'unimodal' states, in the creolophone states, though, the unofficial demolect stands in complementary diglottic distribution to the official exolect, of which it is the 'indigenised' form. A similar diglossia, but in the sense of Fishman (i.e. socially) of complementary distribution exists between the official exolects and the unofficial demolects or choralects (i.e. 'national' languages at central or regional level), as will be shown in the major public domains of incidence. Considering that the first two categories of states are mostly countries with a small number of chthonolects (indigenous languages) and with very large language majorities, it is

patent that there is a correlation between multilingualism, i.e. the presence of many chthonolects (-indigenous 'national' languages) and exoglossia. The exolects are needed as official languages and effective communication media in many central domains in the largest, third category. The only multilingual states in the first category are Ethiopia and Sudan. In Ethiopia with 91 LL, the prestigious official L was enforced by a previous regime, and the exolect in any case was not a world language (Italian). In the multilingual Sudan with 129 LL (Ethnologue), Arabic was enforced as official L against the wishes of the Southern region, but a compromise was arrived at. In multilingual Tanzania with 115 LL (Ethnologue), the post-independence regime, still in power, happily inherited a lingua franca which could be dignified as the official L.[10] Of the 10 states that chose the demolect to also serve as official L, 6 are 'unimodal' states, i.e. with a single ethnolect: Burundi, Rwanda, Botswana, Lesotho, Seychelles, Swaziland - the other four are multilingual: In Chad with 108 LL (Ethnologue), Arabic was chosen both for its prestige and membership of the Arab League and because colloquial forms were both chthonolect and lingua franca. In Kenya, with 44 LL (Ethnologue), the choice of Swahili was political as well as practical: but whereas in 1974, English was ousted from Parliament at the request of the 'Mzee' (Jomo Kenyatta), it was reintroduced quietly soon after his demise and is now co-official. In Malawi with only 13 LL (Ethnologue), Chewa was elected as co-official because it was not only the dominant ethnic, but also a language of wider communication. Finally, in South Africa with 27 chthonolects, the Boer community fought long with the British for recognition of their new language, which however, is now an enforced national/official L against the Bantu-speaking majority. The latter is evenly divided between several major choralects (regional LL), each 'official' in its own 'bantustan'.

Table II

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES IN AFRICA

1. The national language is the sole official language - ENDOGLOTTIC POLICY
Algeria (Arabic), Egypt (Arabic), Ethiopia (Amharic), Libya (Arabic), Madagascar (Malgache), Mauritania (Arabic), Morocco (Arabic), Sudan (Arabic), Tanzania (Swahili), Tunisia (Arabic) 10 states

2. The national language and the exolect are co-official - MIXOGLOTTIC POLICY

2.1 National language with French: Burundi (Rundi & French), Chad (Arabic & French), Rwanda (Rwanda & French) (3 states)

2.2 National language with English: Botswana (Tswana & English), Kenya (Swahili & English), Lesotho (Sotho & English), Malawi (Chewa & English), South Africa (Afrikaans & English), Swaziland (Swazi & English) (6 states)

2.3 National language with Arabic: Somalia (Somali & Arabic) (1 state)

2.4 National language with English & French: Seychelles (Kreol, English & French) (1 state)

11 states

3. The exolect is the sole official language - EXOGLOTTIC POLICY

3.1 French is the sole official language in: Benin, Congo, Centrafrique, Gabon, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Togo, Upper Volta, Zaire (also Reunion) (12 states)

3.2 English is the sole official language in: Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Mauritius, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe (9 states)

3.3 Portuguese is the sole official language in: Angola, Cap Verde, Guinea Bissau, Nozambique, St. Thomas & Prince (also Kabinda) (5 states)

3.4 Arabic is the sole official language in: Western Sahara (the people are Berber) (1 state)

3.5 Spanish is the sole official language in: Equatorial Guinea (also Ceuta, Canaries, Melilla) (1 state)

3.6 Two exolects are official languages in: Cameroon (French & English), Comoros (French & Arabic), Djibuti (French & Arabic) (3 states)

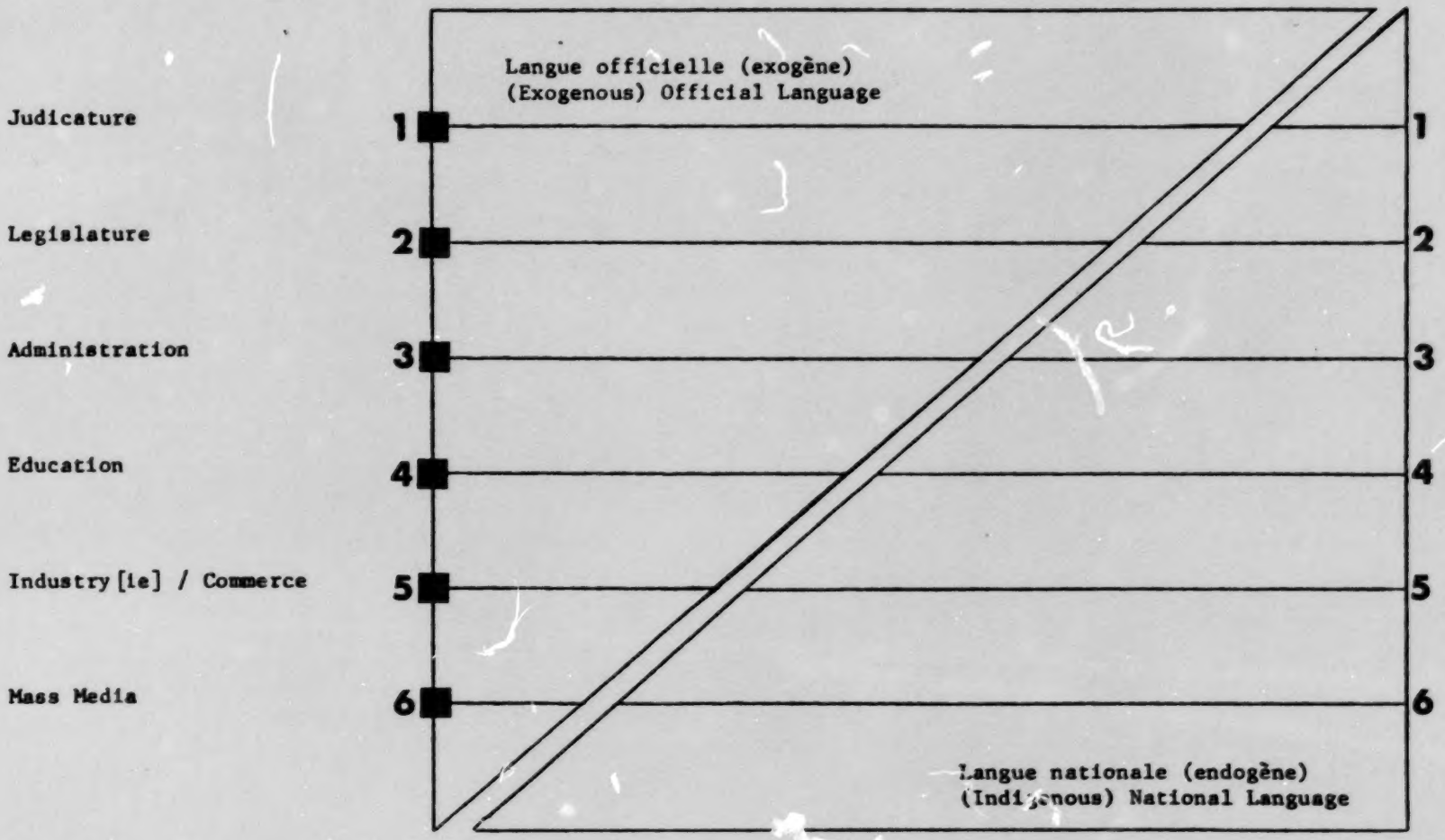
3.7 Three exolects are official languages in: Namibia (Afrikaans, English, German) (1 state)

32 states

TOTAL: 53 states

COMPLEMENTARITE DES LANGUES OFFICIELLES (EXOGENES) ET NATIONALES (ENDOGENES)
DANS SIX DOMAINES PUBLICS

COMPLEMENTARY DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL AND OFFICIAL LANGUAGES
IN SIX PUBLIC DOMAINS OF INCIDENCE



3. COMPLEMENTARITY OF LANGUAGE USE IN 6 PUBLIC DOMAINS

3.1 In the following pages a typology of language use in 6 public domains will be presented, based on the growing, but uneven socio-linguistic information coming from African states. Whilst serious socio-linguistic surveys started in Eastern Africa in the 1960's in Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia under the auspices of the Ford Foundation, a similar survey is under way for Cameroon, whereas for many other countries there exist socio-linguistic profiles which concentrate mainly on the educational aspect. Such profiles have been commissioned in recent years by Unesco, the World Bank (through the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington) and, most recently, by the Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique (Agency for Technical & Cultural Cooperation) on behalf of the Conference of Francophone Ministers of Education. Betwen them, they cover most African states with the notable exception of Nigeria, which is the most difficult, being the largest socio-linguistic entity. The National Language Centre, Lagos (Federal Ministry of Education), however, is planning a socio-linguistic survey, which would take the rest of the 1980's, if finance could be found.

In characterizing language use in the 6 domains, it is important to take into consideration three distinct levels of use: (a) national or central, (b) regional and (c) local, which most countries have in common.

3.2 JUDICATURE

The history of judicatures has shown that language of the Law changes least: In Europe, the Law was for centuries expressed in Latin (Canon Law still is), whilst other public domains had turned to the use of vernaculars. In India, the Law was dispensed in Persian long into British colonial days. In Africa, whereas customary law has traditionally been expressed in the vernaculars throughout the continent, three imported legal systems had a profound and lasting effect on language use: the Koranic, or Sharia; the Roman, or codified; and the Germanic, or case law, expressed respectively through the Arabic, Romance and Germanic languages. With Islam, Koranic Law spread the use of Arabic first along the North of Africa, and from the 1st millenium southwards

into the 'Sudan', i.e. country of the Blacks, including present-day Mauritania, Mali, Chad down into Northern Nigeria and Cameroun. However, the application of Islamic Law is limited to religious and personal matters (as used to be Canon Law in Catholic countries), whilst civil courts generally use European exolects, except in the purely arabophone countries.

Indeed in a militant Islamic state, like Libya the very constitution proclaims the law of scripture, cf. art 2 (of 2nd March 1977, constitution of Libya) 'The Holy Quren is the Constitution of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya'.

Whilst the Law itself is expressed in English, French and Portuguese in mixoglottic and exoglottic states alike, court proceedings tend to adapt to regional i.e. 'national' languages, especially in the Afro-Saxon states. Constitutions based on the British model, like those of Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Uganda, etc. have always made special provisions for access to the Law through local languages, for which court interpreters had to be provided. In the case of Northern Nigeria - once a separate judiciary province - the proceedings of lower courts could be written in Hausa, whilst the area, and high courts used and still use English only. Only in endoglottic states, like Ethiopia and Tanzania, has the national/official language replaced the exolect in the legal sphere. In most sub-Saharan states, whilst the written law continues to be exclusively in the exolect, the oral use of indigenous languages is practised in proceedings, particularly in the lower courts.

Amharic, on the other hand, has frequently to give way to the oral use of regional lingua francas, Oromo, Gurage, Tigrinya etc, as shown by Cooper & Nahum in 'Language in Ethiopia' (London, OUP 1976: 256/63).

3.3 The Legislatures operate centrally; only in federal states is there a need for concurrent regional legislation, as notably in Nigeria. Central legislatures operate in the official languages of the countries for record, whilst 'national' languages, i.e. demolects tend to be admitted for debate. In Tanzania, as an officially monolingual state, debates and records are in Swahili, whilst in neihgbouring Kenya they are both in Swahili and English the original use of members being recorded.[11] In 'anglophone' African states,

the use of language in parliaments is laid down in the constitutions and is generally the only mention of the official use of language. Thus whilst parliamentarians generally had to have a knowledge of English - this being a qualifying condition for membership - they could use the demolect in debate (e.g. Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana), whereas records were in English only, obviating the need for costly tranlations. This resulted, however, in the phenomenon of diglossia-graphia: that one national/official language was spoken, whilst the other official L was recorded and printed. In Nigeria the National Assembly uses English only at present, but provisions are being made for the introduction, in the central legislature, for the use of the three 'major' languages (i.e. demolect), Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, as soon as the Assembly moves to the new capital. This would mean a quadrilingual Assembly of two houses, which can be successful only with simultaneous interpretation (for which provisions are being made). An example of a fully bilingual legislature is seen in Cameroon, where debates take place in both the official exolects, French and English, and records are in both languages.

Language use becomes more complicated at the regional level, as in Nigeria and South Africa. The 1979 Nigerian Constitution allows each federated state to choose its own choralects in addition to English, i.e. the L or LL so chosen must be indigenous to the state. Since October 1979, of the 19 states, 7 of the 10 Northern states have added Hausa (only one state had an additional L, Kanuri), whilst of the 9 Southern states, 4 added Yoruba and 2 Igbo. The rest, being too multilingual, preferred the sole use of English. The introduction of regional LL (choralects) in the state legislatures was a matter of necessity particularly in the North, where many members had little English, whilst in the South, it was from linguistic preference among the Yorubaphone states, whereas the Igbophone states have yet to agree on a standard form, before they can implement their choice.

In the francophone African states, by and large, the sole use of the official exolect is closely linked on the one hand to the elites coming into the parliaments, on the other to the cultural philosophy of 'Francophonie'. Though this is to some extent true also of Commonwealth parliamentarians on the anglophone side, the acceptance and more recently encouragement of the use of demolects or choralects - as in Kenya and Nigeria - does constitute a significant difference of exolect use in this important public domain.

When meeting their constituencies, however, legislators have to be conversant with the local language(s), as has been portrayed in contemporary African novels, like those of Aluko and Achebe. In a 'participatory' democracy, this getting down to grassroots has become of increasing importance in most African regimes and can be used to spread one or several of the 'national' languages. However, the case of Kenya - in which Parliament reverted to the official use of English in addition to Swahili after the demise of Kenyatta - shows that for debates on technical matters of government (legal, financial, technological) the continued use of the exolect was preferred, as also for purposes of drafting and record, whilst for affective purposes the demolect is chosen.

3.4 Language use in the Administrations follows a general dividing line among arabophone, francophone and anglophone states. The greatest effort in using the national/official L in administration has been made by the arabophone states of North Africa, where Arabic has taken its full place in Egypt and Libya and stands in complementary distribution to French in the Maghreb, as in the officially arabo-francophone states of Mauritania and Chad: whilst in the administrations of the former three (Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco) Arabic predominates, in the latter two French does.[12] In the 'anglophone' states there is a considerable cline between Tanzania where Swahili predominates, to Sierra Leone where English only is used at the centre, corresponding to the endoglottic policy of the former and the exoglottic policy of the latter. Among the 'francophone' states, the only endoglottic policy is the one of Madagascar, but Turcotte in his 1981 article (q.v.) points out that the ousting of French as second official L in 1975 has not greatly changed ministerial administrative practices, which - as in other similar cases - are self-perpetuating, even in the most 'malgachisant' Ministry of Education. Changes in administrative habits can hardly be made by a political fiat, unless personnel is trained or re-trained over a period of time and linguistic incentives or sanctions operate in the selection of civil services. In most of the francophone states demolects are now being selected, graphicized and lexicised: there is thus as yet no instrument to serve as medium of written communication, advertisement, notice other than the exolect. This is different in those countries, like Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire, where mixoglottic policies are exercised, since the demolects of

these countries had already been well graphicized and partly developed prior to independence. In Zaire particularly, though ostensibly adhering to an exoglottic policy (French only), the regional languages play a considerable role in administration - orally.

The differentiation between the administration of three levels - central, regional and local - can be illustrated from Nigeria. At the central level all correspondence and most oral communications are in English which is necessary because of the extreme multilingualism of the Federation. Only when ethnics of the same group converse alone, will they use their ethnolect, but switch to English with the presence of a third person of a different group. The Federal Gouvernement is building secretariats in each state, where no doubt English will also be used in writing, whilst the local dominant language will also be used orally. However, in the Federal Ministry of Information, the Directorate of Public Enlightenment and the Broadcasting Corporation are encouraging the use of regional languages - which will be discussed under Mass Media.

Each of the 19 Nigerian states has its own state government, hence administration, where linguistic habits are different from those of the centre. Here records are still made in English, as is correspondence, but the oral use of the choralect predominates, except in the 6 extremely multilingual states. Moreover, Northern Nigeria has in Hausa a lingua franca which even replaces the choralect, as seen in Maiduguri, where it tends to replace Kanuri in oral communication between administrators of different ethnic groups. Hausa, rather than English, is therefore the oral link-language (metalect) in the North, whilst in the South, English is at a formal level, and Pidgin at an informal level.

At the level of Local Government Authorities, which are laid down in the 1979 Constitution - English is solely used for record and correspondence in the South, whilst in the North Hausa is also used at that level. Depending on the ethnic homogeneity of local councils, proceedings can take place orally in the chthonolect, whilst being recorded in English or Hausa. Again in multilingual local communities, the lingua franca would be English, or Hausa in some Northern Parts.

There is no doctrinaire or political pressure on the use of language in Nigeria: opportunity is given for the development of regional and local LL in administration,

particularly for those whose level of English would not permit them to express themselves in the exolect. Thus non-English speaking Nigerians are at the least disadvantage through not mastering English, even though it is required for upward social mobility.

3.5 LANGUAGE USE IN EDUCATION

This is the domain that has been written on most. Whereas language policy in Education used to be the preserve of missionaries - Islamic and Christian - until the 19th century, colonial governments started to take an active interest as from the 'Scramble for Africa', when the colonial positions were consolidated for some 80 years. Until then, since Islam has always considered Education as part of the religion, Education in the Islamic parts of Africa, i.e. the North and the Sudan, was always through the medium of Arabic, to which the many vernaculars were assimilated through the centuries, including such historic languages as Egyptian or Coptic. The only North African languages to have resisted this assimilation were the Kushitic and Ethio-Semitic tongues of the East. So successful was this assimilation that nowadays Arabic is considered indigenous to North Africa and the Bilad el Sudan. The Turkish Ottoman administration of several centuries, being itself Islamic, did not interfere with the continuity of Islamic Education at the three levels, primary, secondary and tertiary, which was taken as far south as Nigeria and Northern Cameroon.

Christian missionaries settling along the Eastern, Western, Southern and finally Northern coasts, on the other hand, were uniformly enjoined by their orders to preach in languages people could understand, either the large lingua francas, or even the smaller ethnic languages. It was the colonial administrations, however, whose policies were divided along a line of Latin and Germanic cultures. The Latin administrations - Portuguese, French, Spanish and Italian, being convinced of their Latin heritage and 'civilising mission' ('mission civilisatrice'), insisted on the metrolects being the sole medium of instruction, which mostly did not go beyond the primary stage: in this they either overawed the missions, or received their consent through the concordats. The insistence of metrolect-medium teaching resulted in the neglect of indigenous languages on the sub-Saharan continent. Moreover, it is only in the last decade that the governments of the newly created states have come to grips with the problem of

language in education, both within and out of school, to which considerable effort is now given by individual states, as well as corporately through intergovernmental agencies, like CONFEMEN, Unesco and OAU.

The Germanic or 'Saxon' colonial administrations, British, German, Dutch and Flemish (most of the administrators and missionaries in the Belgian Congo were Flemish), however, were ethnophil, or as it was called in the Congo 'indigéniste' in their approach. Whilst the established Churches, Catholic and Anglican, preferred to work through majority languages, the Protestant churches often catered for minority groups as well, in accordance with the 'Great Commission' to preach to all in their own tongues, which had a direct bearing on their educational practices. Moreover colonial administrations of the 'Saxon' powers used the missionaries, through a system of grants-in-aid, to provide Education which cost them much less than if they had brought out lay teachers from Europe. So pervasive was their insistence on the use of 'the vernacular' in at least primary education, that there was even a revulsion against it by the newly independent states, as from 1958, when Ghana became independent. Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone no less than Zaire went for a straight-for-exolect policy, thinking that the early acquisition of the exolects would enhance rapid development. It was only from the 1970's onwards that a pan-African language policy developed, largely through the efforts of Unesco, following upon the famous 1951 conference on the 'Use of Vernaculars in Education' and the 1961 Addis Ababa conference on Education in Africa, as well as the world literacy campaigns.

There is thus at present quasi unanimity on the African continent on the need for child and adult literacy and early conceptualization through a familiar language, though in many cases this cannot be the 'mother tongue', but has to be the language of a wider community. But the implementation of this policy varies greatly from country to country, and even within a given country. In the unilingual Arabophone states, Education is offered in Arabic to secondary and tertiary level, whilst a bilingual system exists in countries of the Maghreb with tertiary education in English or French, as well as Arabic. If exolects are used in this instance, it is as 'languages for special purposes', i.e. technolects, in which case the exogenous languages could be termed 'ancillary' or 'auxiliary' (as in J. Fishman's book on 'English as an additional language'). On the other hand the Arabophone countries do not cater for their linguistic autochthonous minorities, the Berber peoples, who have to be bilingual if they wish to receive Education.

In the 'unimodal' countries like Madagascar, Rwanda, Burundi, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Somalia, the provision of primary Education in the national/official language provides no economic, administrative or academic difficulty: textbooks can be provided and personnel trained in sufficient numbers. South Africa, though multilingual in fact, is treated by its government as a series of unimodal enclaves, each of which has its official, indigenous language: hence primary education, and to some extent secondary, through the indigenous Bantu languages is encouraged by government, but now often resented by the recipients of such education. In a triglottic country like Tanzania, early primary education is in the many vernaculars, later primary and early secondary education through Swahili, whilst higher secondary and tertiary education are through English, a form which is not uncommon in other 'Saxon' - like polities, such as Nigeria and Ghana. The main question here is when to affect the transition from mother tongue, to other tongue (the demolect), to further tongue (the exolect).

But it is the great linguistic 'scatter belt' of continental Africa that has the greatest difficulty in determing media of instruction and the transition from one to the other. Central and regional education authorities have to fight with the problem of choice of scattered minority languages as a sacrifice to 'mother tongue education', the development of selected majority languages in a policy of 'community language education' and the transition to languages of wider communication for inter-ethnic communication and social mobility. The choice of a limited number of regionally representative languages for national development by most states within the scatter-belt was primarily made for educational purposes. Not only for the schools, but also for adult literacy, since literacy in minority languages would only be locally functional and would impede upon mobility within a given state. In the cities, however, there is a good argument to effect literacy as well as continuing education through the medium of the exolect, which in most sub-Saharan states remains the lingua franca. In the case of the cities, the debate in literacy and in continuing education is as between one or several indigenous and the exogenous lingua franca is it more useful for an inhabitant of Lagos, Kinshasa, Kampala or Luanda to be literate in Yoruba, Kongo or Lingala, Swahili and Umbundu, or in English, French and Portuguese ?

Summarising, we can say that in school education there is a cline from the mother tongue to the exolect or further tongue, passing through a second community language in the case of multilingual communities in what I have elsewhere called 'the triglottic configuration'. Whilst there are clear signs of the development and use of African languages in primary education and literacy, very few countries have introduced them to the secondary level as media, and even fewer as tertiary media. A distinction has to be drawn here between 'African' languages and Arabic, which has a millenary tradition of formal education at all levels. For literacy to be functional, it has to occur in languages of actual communication by the learners, this being without doubt also a great opportunity of spreading a language of national communalism. In continuing education, however, I would argue that the use of the national exolect would open up wider avenues of knowledge and information, and it is they that are mostly so used, especially in the multilingual states.

3.6 LANGUAGE USE IN INDUSTRY & COMMERCE

Since commerce uses as media of exchange money and language, it stands to reason that it is the domain par excellence for the spread of lingua francas. This includes the contact languages or pidgins, which is both the origin of the term 'lingua franca', as well as of 'pidigin' (the former from a mediaeval Mediterranean Romance mixed language, the latter from 'business' English, as used by the Chinese). Though there has been good research on the origins and spread of particular lingua francas such as Arabic, Swahili, Hausa, Sango, Mandingo and Ngala, showing their interethnic as well as their trans-national character,[13] there have been very few studies on language domains in commerce. Some studies on language use in the market exist, as the one by Cooper & Carpenter in 'Language in Ethiopia', showing that each locality has its own dominant language, but that Amharic was to some extent used outside its own area as lingua franca. Some of the lingua francas like Arabic, Swahili and Hausa are used far beyond their original 'habitat'. Many transactions made between co-religionists at a higher level are also made in those lingua francas, without written confirmation, owing to the continued value of the spoken word in Africa. Similarly, international African commerce, i.e. import, is influenced by these lingua francas: in Maiduguri many Japenese products arrive with Arabic descriptions, not Hausa or Kanuri.

On the other hand state-organised industry makes for conurbations which are mostly triglottic: (a) the language of the original, autochthonus inhabitants, (b) the lingua franca of work, and (c) the exolect, generally at the level of management - except in some 'unimodal' states. Without going into details, it can be posited that in industry/commerce only the top uses the exolect, the larger part various lingua francas, whilst the use of vernaculars is limited to local transactions or labour.

3.7 LANGUAGE USE IN THE MASS MEDIA

For the purpose of demonstrating language complementarity, we distinguish between three main media: the aural, including broadcasting and recorded songs, the audio-visual, including cinema and television and the literary or printed, including newspaper and advertising (posters). Of the media, broadcasting and television are monopolies of state in most African countries, whilst the governments may have shares in the press, but do not, in most places, control it. The recording industry has settled in many African countries, showing the popularity of instrumental and vocal music (the latter an important vehicle for the spread of lingua francas, e.g. Ngala), whereas films are mostly imported from the East (India) and the West (US and Europe).

The striking dichotomy between the audio-oral and audio-visual media on the one hand and the printed media on the other is that in the former, 'national' languages and, in the latter, the exolects predominate, through in both cases there are large differences in different countries.

The first media to use select indigenous languages - later to become the lingua francas and national languages - is the radio, as can be read in the exposition of Sydney Head 'Broadcasting in Africa' (1974). Taking Nigeria as an example (Brann forthcoming), the first station in Lagos simply re-broadcast material of the London B.B.C. since the 1930's. But since WW2 an extensive network of federal, regional and state services has increased the number of languages selected from ten to one hundred. The balance between Nigerian languages (major, regional and local) and English differs as between federal, regional and local/state broadcasts. The Federal, central service broadcasts mainly in English, but gives bulletins also in the three 'major' Nigerian languages (the

external services are not described here). At the level of the 4 federal regional stations, broadcasts are still predominantly in English, but bulletins are given in 3 languages each, making 12 in all. Each of the 19 states has its own broadcasting station, using, in addition to English, a select number of 'state' broadcasting languages, together with a number of local languages for occasional feature programmes. Together, these programmes in Nigerian languages may take up 70% of the time, leaving only 30% for English, but this differs in different states. At the federal level, this proportion would be the inverse. But in addition to its central and regional services, the federal government has also started a new series of 19 federal stations in each state, for which the language policy is still being discussed (as of end 1982). It is patent that with the proliferation of stations, but also with the increased number of Nigerian languages used, programmes tend to become fragmented. The time spent on any individual Nigerian language is still smaller than that spent on English whilst English may on the combined networks not receive more than 20% of the time available.

The following figures are given as an example of the complementary use of official and national languages in a public domain: Summary of allocation of broadcasting time in 'francophone' African states (data extrapolated from CONFEMEN 1983).

BENIN: 55% of time divided among 11 national languages; ergo 45% in French
BURUNDI: of two channels, 1 entirely in Rundi, no 2 (international) in Rundi, Swahili and French.
CAMEROON: time divided 53% French, 28% English, 18% national languages, for information bulletins only.
CENTRAFRIQUE: time divided 65% Sango, 35% French.
COMOROS: (1) national service: chiefly in Comorian (national language)
(2) international service: equally divided between French, Arabic, Swahili, Malgache and English.
CONGO: approx. 27% time in Ngala and Monokutuba, ergo 73% in French.
IVORY COAST: 11 national LL used, but mostly French - percentage not given.
DJIBUTI: 30% time in national LL Afar/Somali; rest in French and Arabic, official LL.

GABON: (1) regional service: partly in local LL, but mostly in French
(2) national service: wholly in French

GUINEA: (not included in CONFEMEN report, information came too late).

HAUTE VOLTA/UPPER VOLTA: mostly French(percentage not given) 15-30 mins. twice a month for each of 6 national languages; ergo time on national languages is minimal, and French mostly is used.

MADAGASCAR: since 1976 abt. 85% for Malgache (national and official L) and 15% for French (cf. Turcotte 1981: 148/9).

MALI: 50% of time in national LL; ergo rest in exolects, mostly French.

MAURITIUS: from 1975-1983 abt 50% French, the de facto koine; 14% English (de jure official), 25% Hiddustani and 8% minority LL (but increased use of Créole).

NIGER: 55% of time in 5 national LL; ergo rest in French 45%.

RWANDA: time apportioned 65% in Rwanda (official/national), 21% French (0), 14% Swahili (w).

SENEGAL: (1) home service 40% time in 4 national LL, plus 10% Wolof (literacy); ergo 50% French
(2) external service: 90% French.

TOGO: two home services, on which 15% each for two national LL; ergo 70% French.

ZAIRE: 60% in four national LL; ergo 40% in French.

The following comments are made with reference to the typology of language policies of African states.

1. Radio time for the one ENDOGLOTTIC francophone state - Madagascar is abt. 15% for French and the remaining time for Malgache (cf. Turcotte 1981: 148/9)[14]

2. Of the MIXOGLOTTIC francophone states, both Rwanda and Burundi use most of the time on the one national/official language, with unspecified time for the official exolect, whereas radio time for Chad was not available. In the Seychelles, time is equally divided among the 3 official languages, Créole, English and French, of which the first is also the national language.

3.1 Among the multilingual EXOGLOTTIC francophone states, Benin, Niger, Senegal and Zaire broadcast in 4/5/11 national languages respectively in above 50% of the time, as does Mali, but for an unspecified number of national languages. The timing for Guinea which would belong to this group, was

not available. It is assumed that the remaining time is used for broadcasts in French, i.e. Benin 45%, Niger 45%, Senegal (1) 60%, but (2) 90%, Zaire 40% and Mali 50%.

3.2 In Togo, although Ewe and Kabye have both been declared representative 'national languages', only 15% time is spent on each, the remaining 70% being presumably in French.

3.3 In a multilingual state like Centrafrique (CAR), with nevertheless one predominant lingua franca, Sango, the proportion of Sango 65% to French 35% reflects the complementary distribution.

3.4 Similarly in a unilingual state like the COMOROS, the two channels, one for the endolect, Comorian, the other for 5 international or neighbouring languages, reflects the poliglottic position.

3.5 Two exoglottic states with two official languages, Cameroon and Djibuti use respectively 18% for an unspecified number of national languages, and 30% for the only two national languages, Afar and Somali. The Congo with two lingua francas, Ngala and Munukutuba, uses 27% time for the two.

3.6 Exoglottic multilingual francophone states, without a dominant lingua franca or ethnolect like Ivory Coast, Gabon and Upper Volta broadcast mostly in the exolect, French.

The above extrapolation from figures cited in recent documents shows that there is a cline in the complementary use of endogenous and exogenous languages; here French. At the one end, the state with an endoglottic policy, the proportion of time devoted to the single official/national language to French, which was formerly co-official, was 15/75; exactly the opposite is the case with the multilingual exoglottic states under 3.6, where a proportion of 75/15% can be posited for the use of French in relation to indigenous languages. In the centre are the exoglottic states with a strong national language policy like Benin, Niger, Zaire, Mali and Guinea, where a 50% use is posited each for the endolects and for the exolect, in the home broadcasting services.

The complementarity in the use of indigenous and exogenous languages can easily be measured in the case of Broadcasting, as sending time provides a

convenient quantity, since generally both types of language have to share one channel. By going back over the past 20 years, it will be seen that the time apportioned to sending in the exolect has had to be curtailed to make room for the newly selected 'national' languages, in favour of which the time balance has shifted. It is patent that broadcasting is the most accessible domain in which a government can introduce the use of national languages cost effectively, by keeping down the costs for a maximum spread. It is far easier for a government to 'communicate' - in a non-reciprocal fashion it is true - with the mass of the national population through a judicious choice of representative languages, than to publish newspapers in them. The press, which is largely commercially run, prefers to publish in the one exolect than in a number of endolects. Only when a single language becomes also the national and official language is newspaper publishing in that language commercially viable - as shown in the Arabophone countries, no less than in Ethiopia or some of the 'unimodal' states.

4. SUMMARY & CONCLUSION

For each nation-state has been posited the existence of a number of language domains, which together constitute the national language space. The proportion in which this language space is filled by territorial languages (c), by regional languages (k), or by one or several nation-wide languages (d) and the exolect (e) varies from country to country. But in virtually all African states there is an unmistakable movement towards differentiating the status of indigenous languages from the communality of the grassroot languages (c) to a selection of representative regional languages to a single symbolical language (d). It has been shown that the term 'national language' is at times applied to all three levels, which is confusing, to say the least.

So long as African countries had an undifferentiated multitude of territorial languages the imported (imposed) official exolect had to fulfill all central public functions. It had to fill the top of all domains, the chthonolects being limited to domestic, local or traditional functions. The exolect was the only medium through which the neo-states had access to the modern sector.

With the selection of regional ethnolects or lingua francas (k), however, certain public functions are being transferred to them from the exolect, still leaving behind them the undifferentiated majority of territorial languages.[15]

This concerns regional jurisdiction, legislation and administration, but more evidently primary and literacy education and broadcasting. The selection of such languages implies their development, which is possible only if their number is small. To develop pari passu eleven or more 'national' languages, is tantamount to limiting their functions, since the exolect will still have to perform most of the central communicative acts.

Finally the election of a single demolect and its planned modernization in terms of form and function (through an academy or other language planning agency) allows it gradually to replace the exolect in the domains indicated in this essay - generally in mass media first and in the judicature last. Such an election, it has been seen, has been possible in states with a single

ethnic group (the 'unimodal' states), or with a dominant language of culture (Ethiopia) or lingua franca (Tanzania) etc). It is a process which in European countries took a millenium, gradually wresting public domains and usage from Latin, in favour of the rising vernaculars and leaving behind them a trail of outmoded or undeveloped speech forms. Such an election can be made for Sango, Ngala, or Mandingo in the centre and west, just as another type of lingua franca, the creoles of the Indian Ocean, are being so elected for some of the island groups - The Seychelles and Mauritius, but also the Cap Verde Islands opposite.

For the time being, the exolects fulfill a triple function: they are (a) the official inter-ethnic means of communication in all central government functions; (b) the chief or only medium of secondary and tertiary education and (c) the main link with the international community. It is perfectly possible for a state to replace one function by a demolect, without touching the others. It is equally possible to receive or naturalise the exolect by incorporating it as a 'national language',as has been the case over the centuries with Arabic in continental Africa.

At all events, the process of replacement, of shifting the balance between the national endolect and the official exolect is of necessity a slow one, as has been seen even in the case of the Maghrebine states. In countries where there have been sudden shifts of language use in favour of a demolect, as in Madagascar and Tanzania, it may have been found that by taking away from French and English the prestige of an official language, that move has resulted in a (benign) neglect of the exolect, deleterious to the countries' modernizing process. This realisation comes when the exolects so replaced are also world languages, with access to a vast commercial, technical and scientific network.

Complementarity, therefore, in the context of this essay, does not mean a static configuration, but a balance of linguistic powers, with continuous adjustment in relation to each other, in order to fill the national 'language spaces' and provide the necessary means of communication at the central, regional and local levels. Processes of identification/definition of all territorial speech forms have to be followed up by the allocation/zoning of languages for

domains and areas, on the basis of which a central national form can finally be elected. Until those processes are completed, the 'national' exolects perform indispensible services, and should not therefore be neglected. In any case the initiative for changes in any direction within a given state is bound to come from the state itself. To accomplish such shifts in a measured and premeditated manner, is the object of the art and science of language planning.

NOTES

1. The change of use of the term 'national language' in Ethiopia, from demolect to chthonolect, reflects the philosophy of national participation of the present regime, whilst the former empire was one of cultural representation. In the sense of the 'language-nation-state' it is thus a retrograde step, but may be more adapted to the realities of multilingual states.

2. The development of Kingwana into a standardised language can be senn in the current translation of the Bible into two major forms of Swahili: East African and Zairois. Whether such a development militates against the function of Swahili as a language of wider communication in large parts of Central and Eastern Africa cannot be diseussed here: what is significant is that national forms of inter-African languages are preferred, e.g. the development of national forms of Fula, Rwanda, Gbe (Fon, Ewe, Mina), Xhosa etc. Whilst national language interests standardise a speech form within the confines of a state, international language interests (e.g. Unesco, ACCT, CIRELFA, OAU/IBL) identify common interests, as was also formerly the case in the anglophone East and West African communities.

3. That this ambiguity of the 'nation' and 'national' is by no means confined to the African scene, or to the present time, can be seen in the unpublished thesis by George Stafanus Sossouw 'Nationalism and language', University of Chicago, August 1922, 297 pp (microfilm University of Chicago 3655), where he dwells on the ethnic, territorial and cultural aspects of the term.

4. In India, a federal union, of the 15 'national' languages, 11 are the official languages of 'linguistic states', one is the official language of several states and also the Union language (Hindi), two have no territory apportioned to them, whilst one, Sanskrit, is a symbol of the ancient Indic culture. In this case, therefore, the term 'national' covers all three definitions given in this paper.

5. The terms endoglottic and exoglottic were first used in this sense by Heinz Kloss in 'Notes concerning a language typology' in J.A. Fishman 1968:69-85 (cf. references) and more recently by Reh & Heine 1982 Sprachpolitik in Afrika (cf. references); the term mixoglottic is my own.

6. Robert Cooper in 'the spread of Amharic' in: M.L. Bender et al (eds) 1976: 301 (q.v.) writes: "The spread of Amharic in Ethiopia is a clear example, unique in Africa, of the expansion of an indigenous national language, in a highly multilingual country, as a principal factor in national integration". As with most languages in Africa, reports of L2 speakers differ. But whereas during the days of empire, the tendency was to enlarge the number of L2 speakers of Amharic, the present trend is to minimise it, as seen in the IAI report 31/40% L1/L2 speakers, which is not much for a national lingua franca.

7. This is somewhat astonishing in relation to Sango, as a National Commission for its study and development was appointed by decree in 1963, i.e. 20 years ago (CONFEMEN 1982:86).

8. The 9th Edition of Ethnologue gives only 32 languages, whilst Yai in Sow 1977: 243, writing on 'Dahomey', gives five LL of wider communication - Fon, Yoruba, Fulfulde, Dendi and Hausa, - of which Fon is the internal lingua franca, whilst the other four connect the small country with contiguous states.

9. It it somewhat confusing that the 8 designated national languages are differently listed by Traore in Sow 1977:267 and by Doualamou 1980. Whilst the former quotes Malinke, Pular, Kissi, Guerze, Susu, Toma, Coniagui, Bassar, the latter cites Malinke, Pular, Susu, Kpele, Loghoma, Kissi, Wamey and Oneyan as the 'national languages' (Doualamou 1980:7). Of the 18 'languages' listed in Ethnologue, only 11 are finally grouped in the IAI 1980/83 list.

10. It was perhaps unfortunate (but not fortuitous) that the standard of Swahili derived from the form used on Zanzibar, where it has a commercial flavour lacking prestige, whilst the cultivated, literary form of Mvita of Lamu and Nombasa of the Kenya coast was left behind, as being too sophisticated. This, at least, is the attitude of the 'purists' among Swahili scholars. The success of lingua francas like Swahili, Ngala, Sango, Dyula seems to lie precisely in their loss of differentiation, making them more acceptable for large numbers of speakers (cf. Hindustani in India/Pakistan, as planned by Mahatma Ghandi), whilst even prestigious ethnolects have difficulty in being adopted as single national (demolects) or official languages.

11. The standing orders of the Kenyan Parliament stipulate that a Member must finish his speech in the language in which he started, i.e. the constant switch observed in some state legislatures in Nigeria is not permitted. Also questions have to be answered in the language of the questioner.

12. The call for Arabisation of the administration, i.e. use of Arabic instead of French, is even enshrisned in the Algerian constitution, cf. Appendix.

13. The recent book by Robert Cooper Language spread: studies in diffusion & social change (cf. references) contains essays on the spread of Arabic in the Sudan by U. Mahmud and of Mandingo by L. -J. Calvet, whilst the spread of Hausa has been written on by Petre Zima in Fishman 1968, and W. Samarin has written on Sango, Whiteley on Swahili and Cooper also on Amharic (cf. note 5).

14. It is significant that until June 1976 Madagascar had two channels, one broadcasting wholly in French, the other in Malgache. At this time the two were merged, leaving only two hours daily for French, from 10-12 p.m., i.e. at a time when the 'bourgeois élite' would be listening. This, together with occasional flashes in French during the day, and a putative broadcasting time of 18 hours per diem, constituted about 15% for French.

15. How this process works, has been demonstrated by Louis-Jean Calvet in his Linguistique et colonialisme: petit traité de glottophagie. Paris, Payot, 1974.

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NOTES ON THE TERMINOLOGY & STATISTICS OF OFFICIAL AND NATIONAL (MAJOR) LANGUAGES OF AFRICA

1. ALGERIA Arabic(o,d), Berber, French

IAI cites 80% Arabic, 19% Berber and 0.64% French speakers; most Berbers are Arabic bilinguals, but the number of French bilinguals is not known. Independence Constitution (28/8/1962) art 5: "The Arabic language is the national and official language of the State". Art 76: "The effective achievement of Arabization should occur in the shortest possible time throughout the territory of the Republic. Nevertheless, as a derogation from the present law, the French language may be used provisionnally, together with the Arabic language". On the other hand, the current Constitution (B & F). Art 3: "Arabic is the national and official language. The state will strive to generalize the use of the national language in official circles".

2. ANGOLA Portuguese(o), Umbundu(k), Mbundu(k), Kongo(k)

IAI apud Redhina 1974 cites Umbundu 38%, Mbundu 27%, Kongo 12%. Portuguese is officially termed the lingua comum , i.e. language in common, koine, or link language (IAI) since Independence. The term 'linguas nacionais' is used for all indigenous languages in the 1981 official Angolan publication (cf. bibliog.).

3. BENIN(formerly Dahomey), French(o), Fon, Yoruba, Bariba

IAI apud Nadjo in Barreteau cites 63% for Fon, 12% for Bariba and 16% for Yoruba. The term 'langues nationales' is applied to all territorial languages in Benin, but 19 out 52 such designated languages receive special treatment for development. Whereas in the Constitution of 7/5 1970 (cited by Turi) art. 1: "The official language shall be French", no mention of French is made in the 1979 Constitution (in B&F). In that Constitution ch. 1 art 3: "All nationalities shall be free to use their spoken and written language and to develop their own culture", where the term 'nationality' is reminiscent of Eastern European constitutional usage, i.e. no official distinction is made between them.

3. BENIN (suite)

NB. The high figure for Fon must be understood to include Gun, Adja, Aizo, Mina and represents L1 and L2 speakers. In their recent print-out, IAI cite Fon 26%, Gun 12%, Adja 11% as L1 speakers. This again is explained by the political difference between the original source of IAI (Nadjo) and their present source.

4. BOTSWANA: Tswana (seTswana) (o/d), English (0)

IAI (1983) cites 98% L1 and L2 speakers, and no other language in the country. Although seSotho (in Lesotho, sePedi (in South Africa and Tswana are largely mutually intelligible, they have generally been considered three 'languages' (Welmers:880), i.e. the same L continuum serves two national/official LL, as well as one of the Sotho LL of South Africa (cf. for this configuration kiRundi and kinyaRwanda).

There is no specific mention of language use in the (English) Constitution, but reading between the lines, it can be extrapolated that the (d) is used orally in the Legislature. English is a qualification for participation in Parliament: cf C. 30/08/1966: art 62(B&F).

5. BURUNDI: kiRundi (o/d), French(o), Swahili(w)

IAI(1983) reports ca. 95% L1/L2 for kiRundi, 10% L2 for Swahili, as lingua franca in the cities.

The Constitution of 20/11/1981 reads, art. 7: "The official language is kiRundi. The official languages are kiRundi and other languages decided by Law", i.e. it does not specifically mention French. The Constitution has to be implemented by law. In the earlier Constitution of 01/07/1962, cited by Turi, art. 21 read: "The official languages of Burundi are Kirundi and French".

6. CAP VERDE (CABO VERDE): Portuguese (o), Crioulo (d)

Crioulo, an Afro-Portuguese creole, is spoken by the entire P in diglossia with Portuguese, as described in Jorge Morais Barbosa 1966: hence a 95% figure can be posited for Crioulo, for which no figure is given in IAI (1983).

The C of 07/10/1980, reproduced in B & F is silent on language: it is written in Portuguese.

7. CAMEROON/CAMEROUN: French(o), English(o), Ewondo, Duala, Fulfulde(w), Pidgin(w)

According to IAI(1983) none of the endolects has 10% L1 speakers, because there is no agreement among linguists as to the grouping of Ewondo/Fang. Burk-Rustow-Unesco/BREDA cited 19% of southern P speaking Ewondo-Fang, conceived as a continuum. Morrison cites 24% for Peti-Pahouin, which he identifies with the above group, as does Grimes for the west, the Bamileke group, Unesco/BREDA cites 18%, Roberts 12% and Grimes 30%, which Renaud in Barreteau (1978:475) points out to be a group of languages, not a single language. For the northern lingua franca, Fulfulde, Unesco/BREDA cited 18%. IAI (1983) cites 28% for Pidgin, as L2 speakers.

In a state ethnically so multilingual, the L2 figures may be regarded as the more significant than the ethnic identifiers, wherefore Bamileke, Bassaa, Duala, Ewondo and Fulfulde are widely used over the radio.

The use of two official LL, French and English, in the proportion of 'francophones' to 'anglophones' of 4/1, further complicates L use. According to B & F, ch. 3 art. 1 of the original C, stipulating that "The official languages of the United (formerly Federal) Republic of Cameroon shall be French and English"/"Les langues officielles de la République Unie de Caméroun sont le français et l'anglais" - has not been altered.

8. CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC/REPUBLIQUE CENTRAFRICAINE: French(o), Sango(d/w) Gbaya, Banda.

CONFEMEN cites IAI (1980) with Sango as 98% L2 speakers, but IAI (1983) has not yet reported. IAI (1983) cites 39% L1 for the Gbaya continuum (Gbaya-Manza) and 34% for Banda.

Sango was added to French as the national L by amendment of 18/11/64 of the Constitution, confirmed in the imperial Constitution of 04/12/76 and that of 01/02/1981: art. 11: ..."its national language shall be Sango, its official language shall be French" (B&F). This then is a case where the national L is spoken by the large majority of the P, but because it is not a 'literary' L, it has not (yet) been proclaimed as official.

9. CHAD(TCHAD): French(o), Arabic(o/w), Sara

IAI (1980) cited Sara L1 speakers at 14%, but (1983) at 19%, making at least 25% L1 plus L2 in the southern parts. Arabic, cited by IAI (1983) at 14% L1 is attributed 55% as L1 and L2 (various varieties, though), Grimes 50%, Roberts 54%, being the lingua franca not only in the North, but also parts of the South.

According to the Fundamental Act of 29/09/1982, ch. I, art 1: "The official languages are: French and Arabic". (B&F)

10. COMOROS: Comorian(d), French(o), Arabic(o)

CONFEMEN 1983 reports that 'Comorian' is the union name given to a group of Bantu dialects (related to Swahili), spoken by the majority of P, which is hence considered the national L.

Art. 2 of the C of 01/10/1978 of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros reads: "The official languages shall be French and Arabic" (B&F)

11. CONGO : French(o), Ngala(w), Munukutuba(w), Kongo, Teke

IAI (1983) cites 50% L1 for Kongo and 20% for Teke group (derived from Lumwamu). Munukutuba is a widely spread variety of Kongo in the south, whilst in the north Ngala serves as (w).

Whilst French was enshrined as (o) until 1963, subsequent CC of 30/12/69 and 08/07/79 (B&F) are silent on the question of official LL.

CONFEMEN 1983 reports that Ngala and Munukutuba are being encouraged by government to become lingua francas of the two halves (N/S) of the country, thus discounting the ethnolects.

12. DJIBUTI: Somali(d), Afar(d), Arabic(o), French(o)

A/c to IAI, Somali (in the Issa dialect) is spoken by 36% L1, and Afar by 31%: the L2 figures are not given. Though the LL are related, there may be a trend to distinguish them for the purpose of national identity, owing to the proximity of Somalia.

Though CONFEMEN reports that Djibuti's official LL were Arabic and French since Independence in 1977, the C of 27/06/1977 reported by B&F does not say so: laws must therefore have been passed. Membership of the Arab League (and Djibuti joined soon after Independence) always accompanies Arabic as an (o).

13. EGYPT: Arabic(o/d), English(t)
Arabic is spoken in a colloquial dialect by whole P, whilst literary forms are spoken and written in diglossia by the educated. English serves for 'special purposes' as technolect.

Egypt became independent (in modern times) 28/02/22; in the 11/09/71 C of the Arab Republic of Egypt, art 2. reads: "Islam is the religion of the State and Arabic its official language. The principles of Islamic Sharia are primary sources of legislation (B&F).

14. EQUATORIAL GUINEA (GUINEA ECUATORIAL): Spanish(o), Fang, Bubi.
Nine tenth of P live on the mainland and speak mostly Fang, cited at 75% by IAI as L1, whilst the P of the island of Fernando Po speak Bubi(bube).

The C of 15/08/1982 art. 1 reads: "The official language of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea is Spanish. The aboriginal languages (sic) are recognised as integral to the national culture". No 'national' L is thus distinguished, inspite of the apparent majority of one people.

15. ETHIOPIA: Amharic(o), Oromo(Galla) (k), Tigrinya(k)
IAI (1983) reports 31%, 27% and 14% respectively for the three major indigenous languages; only for Amharic is an L2 figure given - 40%(cf. also Bender 1976:15), but larger figures for both Oromo and Tigrinya as (w) are likely.

The C of 3 04/11/1955 established Amharic as sole (o), but the revolutionary proclamation, cited by B&F is silent on LL. In other official contexts, however, it is seen that Amharic continues as sole (o), whilst all endolects are regarded as 'national languages' to be developed evenly.

16. GABON: French(o), Fang
IAI cites 35% L1 for Fang, whilst Morrison cites 50% L1/L2, which is acceptable, as Fang is the L of the capital, as well as lingua franca in the country.

The C of 31/12/1969: art. 2 proclaims French as (o), which provision stands in the amendment of May 1975. No endolect has so far been given the status of a 'national L' (CONFEMEN 1983). (Title I, art. 2 of C of May 1975: ..."The Gabonese Republic shall adopt French as the official language").

17. GAMBIA: English(o), Mandinka, Fulfulde, Wolof, Dyula, Soninke.
Whilst in 1980 IAI cited Mandinka L1 speakers as 42%, in 1983 it does with 4%, which may be a printing error (print-out) for 40%, this being the estimate of Unesco/BREDA. Fula is cited by IAI (1983) as 18% L1, Wolof as 16%, Duyla as 9.5% and Soninke as 8.7%. But Wolof is likely to be spoken as L2 by a large number, since Gambia is enclaved in Senegal, with which it forms a recent confederation (cf. Senegal).

18. GHANA: English(o), Akan(d), Dagbani, Ewe(k), Kasem, Hausa(w)
Akan (actually a group of written languages - Twi, Fante, Nzema, Asante) was attributed 44% 'Akan' identifiers in the 1960 census. IAI (1980) cites the 1960 census with 14% L1 for Dagbani, 13% for Ewe. Nine 'national languages' are being developed by the Ghana Literature Bureau, as above.

Though English was the official L of the Legislatures since the 1957 C, the most recently available amendment in B & F is silent on language.

19. GUINEA(GUINEE): French(o), Pulaar(Fulfulde) (w), Maninka(Mandingo)(w), Susu, Kisi, Kpele, Loma, Koniagui, Bassar (8 national LL).
IAI placed Pulaar at 40% in 1980, but at 48% in 1983: this may include L2 speakers. IAI cites 22% for Mandingo (1983), which L2 speakers (cf. Morrison) would be 45%, Mandingo being the chief lingua franca, Susu is estimated at 10% in IAI (1980 and 83), but as this is the L of the capital, we follow the estimate of Morrison with 16% L1/L2 speakers. Concerning the 'national languages', the 8 cited by Traore in Sow 1977:267 are: Malinke, Pulaar, Kissi, Guerze, Soussou, Toma, Coniagui, Bassar, whilst the 8 cited by Doualamou 1980 is: Maninka, Pular, Soso, Kpele, Loghoma, Kisiei, Wamey, Oneyan. This is to illustrate how unstable linguistic terminology, even of 'national' LL still is: whilst Maninka (Meninka, Malinke, Mandingo, Mandinka, Mandingue, Mande, Manding, Mandingue, Dyula), Pulaar (Fula, Jalon), Susu (Susoo, Soussou), Kissi (Gizi, Kisi, Kissien) are easily identified, Kpele (Guerze, Gerze, Gerse, Gbese, Pessa, Pessy, Kpwessi), Loma (Loghoma, Toma, Busi, Busy, Bouze, Lorma), Konyagi (Coniagui, Cogniagui, Koniagi, Tenda, Duka, Canhague and Bassar (Basari, Bassari, Onion, Ayan, Biyan, Wo) are not.
(NB. There are no chapters on Guinea in either Barreteau of CONFEMEN)

The C cited by B&F makes no mention of official or national LL.

20. GUINEA-BISSAU(GUINE-BISAO): Portuguese(o), Balante, Pulaar, Manjaku, Crioulo/w.

For the four autochthonous LL, IAI (1983) cites 30%, 21%, 14%, 12% L1 speakers respectively. Though the number of L1 Crioulo speakers was not determined in the 1950 census, it is conceived now not only as the lingua franca, but also as the national L of the country, in a similar situation to Krio in Sierra Leone, or Créole in Mauritius.

Though Portuguese is the official L of state, it is not so enshrined in the C of 24/09/73 (B&F), which is silent on the question.

21. IVORY COAST (COTE D'IVOIRE): French(o), Baule-Anyi, Bete, Mandinka-Dyula, Sena(Senufo).

The IAI 1983 % of 24% for Baule is based on the 1975 census, whilst a separate figure of 6.4% is given for Agni; IAI also gives 64% total L1/L2 speakers. For Malinke-Duyla IAI cites 11% L1, but 61% L1/L2 - making the two LL both national lingua francas. Senufo is cited as 10% by IAI, Bete as 6.2% (1983). No figures are available for Ivorian pidgin (ivoirien), which is well developed in and around the capital.

French has been sole (o) since C of 31/10/1960 (Title I, art 1..."The official language shall be French"), whilst the four Ivorian LL in the heading are unoficially recognized as national languages (CONFEMEN 1983).

22. KENYA: English(o), Swahili(d/w/o), Kikuyu(k), Luo(k), Kamba(k), Luhya(k), Kalenjin(k).

Whilst the L1 % for Swahili is only 1% (IAI 1983), the L1/L2 figure is 65% (ditto), making it the virtual demolect. The 5 major ethnic LL are cited (IAI 1983) as 20%, 14%, 13%, 11%,11% respectively. In the presence of a national lingua franca, ethnolects are not widely used outside their area.

English, initially the sole (o), (C of 12/12/1963: art. 53) was changed to Swahili in an amendment of 12/07/1974, whereas both LL are at present official LL of the legislature (B&F).

23. LESOTHO:(se)Sotho(o/d), English(o)

SeSotho is estimated at 99% L1 in IAI; however Grimes 1978:119 gives a figure of 15% of the population as Zulu. This would make the L1% of Sotho speakers 85%, and assume that practically all Zulu speakers are bilingual in Sotho - 99%.

Both English and Sotho are official LL in the legislature (C of 1973 6(b), B&F).

24. LIBERIA: English(o), Kru-Bassa, Kpelle, Grebo-Krahn, Liberian English.

Kru-Bassa is estimated in Unesco/BREDA at 30% and by Roberts at 28%, whereas IAI, separating the group into Grebo-Krahn 15%, Basa 16% and Kru 6.8% would total 38% L1 speakers. Kpelle is estimated in Unesco/BREDA at 25%, by Roberts at 24% and by IAI at 23%. Liberian English (creole) is attributed only 1% as L1 by Morrison (1972:331). However, it is spoken as the lingua franca not only of the capital (abt 12% P, cf. Jeune Afrique 1979:436), but in other parts of the country also. Hence, Heine (1979:53) estimates total speakers at 20%, which would appear quite conservative.

The recent C of 28/01/1983, art. 43 stipulates that: "The business of the Legislature shall be conducted in the English language or, when adequate preparations shall have been made, in one or more of the languages of the Republic, as the Legislature may by resolution approve" (B&F). This text is modelled on that of Nigeria 1979, as concerns the use of LL in the state legislatures. It avoids the term 'national' to describe the territorial LL.

25. LIBYA: Arabic (o/d)

Since art 2 of the C of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya stipulates that "The Holy Quran is the Constitution of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the Arabic language is uniquely enshrined in it.

26. MADAGASCAR: Malagasy (o/d), French

Malagasy being spoken by 98% of P as L1 is both official L and demolect. Whilst the foundation C of 28/06/1960: art. 2 lay down both Malagasy and French as the official LL of the Republic, the current C is silent on the question. There is no chapter on Madagascar in CONFEMEN.

27. MALAWI: English(o), Chewa(o/d), Lonwe, Yao
Official Malawi figures for 1966 are cited in IAI 1980/83 for Chewa as 50% L1 and 77% L1/L2 speakers; for Lonwe, the census gives 15% L1, for Yao 14% L1 and 19% L1/L2 speakers.

Whereas in the Republican C of 20/07/1965, art. 43: "The proceedings of the National Assembly shall be conducted in the English Language", (Chi)(Chewa was declared the national language, and Chewa and English the two official languages in 1968 (British Council, Nov. 1981).

28. MALI: French(o), Bambara, Fulfulde, Soninke, Sena/Mianka
IAI 1983 reports 45% L1 and 80% L1/L2 for Bambara (Mandinka), making this virtually the lingua franca of the country. For the other three LL 12%, 9% and 9.2% L1 speakers are reported.

The current C of 01/07/1974, art 1 states: "The official language shall be French". Whereas F. Ly in Sow (1977:278) writes that Bambara, Fula, Songhay and Tamasheq have been selected for development as national languages by the government, the 1982 publication of the DNAFLA (Malian literacy agency) describes all territorial LL as 'national', without distinction.

29. MAURETANIA: Arabic (o/d), Fulfulde(k), Soninke(k), Wolof(k)
IAI 1980/83, based on Hamès in Barreteau 1978 cites 80% L1 speakers of Hassaniya, the Mauretanian variety of Arabic. 6%, 3% and 7% are cited for the 3 ethnolects respectively.

According to art. 3 of Law 68.065 of 04/03/1968, the national L of Mauretania is Arabic, whilst the official LL are Arabic and French (B&F), whereas the constitutional charter of 10/07/1978, art 6 stipulates that "The official language shall be Arabic. National languages shall be Arabic, Fulfulde, Soninke and Wolof". (B&F). It appears, therefore, that French is no longer the official L, and that Arabic is sharing the role of national L with the other three main ethnolects.

30. MAURITIUS (ILE MAURICE): English(o), French, Créole, Hindustani, Bhojpuri
IAI 1980/83 cites Créole as 52% L1 and 94% L1/L2: it is thus the national lingua franca, though not so officially designated. By Hindustani is meant speakers of Hindi, Urdu which together make up 32% L1 and 42% L1/L2 speakers, i.e. almost one half.

30. MAURITIUS (continued)

The number of speakers of Bhojpuri remains undetermined. Speakers of Dravidian LL are in the minority, as are speakers of Chinese.

Though English is the only (o), enshrined in the Constitution, French can also be used in the legislature.

31. MOROCCO: Arabic(o), Berber, French

Ethnologue 1978 reports 65% P speak Arabic as L1; perhaps another 20% as L2, totalling 85%. Berber LL (Riff, Shilha, Tamazight) represent ca 38% L1 speakers, many of whom are bilingual with Arabic. There is an unspecified, but considerable number of Arab/French bilinguals.

Arabic is sole (o), but French continues to play an important role, particularly in Education.

32. MOZAMBIQUE: Portuguese(o), Makua-Lonwe, Tsonga

IAI cites 38% and 24% for the LL1 of Makua and Tsonga. Heine's 3rd group Ishwa, of 11%, does not appear in IAI.

Though Portuguese is the sole (o), no special provision has been made for it in the (B&F). On the other hand, art. 16 of the Independence C of 25/06/1975, concerning the Ministry of Information, encourages it to ..." e usam uma linguagem que o povo compreenda", which could refer to the development of territorial LL.

33. NAMIBIA: Ovambo, Afrikaans(o), English(o), German(o)

Heine (1979:44) cites an estimate of speakers of the largest ethnic group - the Ovambo - of 46% P which would include L1/L2 speakers. Other L groups are far below this and are not cited here.

Since 1958, Afrikaans, English and German have been declared 'national' languages by the regional government. The 1981 UN-sponsored the report 'Toward a language policy for Namibia: English as the official language - perspectives and strategies' (Chamberlain) suggests a reduction of the (oo) to English.

34. NIGER: French(o), Hausa(d/w), Songhai( ), Fulfulde(k), Tamasheq(k), Kanuri(k)

IAI cites 46% L1 and 88% L1/L2 for Hausa, making it not only the ethnic majority language, but also the lingua franca of the country (cf. similar situation in Northern Nigeria). Songhai L1 21%, Fulfulde 14%, Tamasheq (a Berber L) 11%,

34. NIGER (continued)

Kanuri 7.6% L1 speakers, constituting together the 5 majority LL. But all territorial LL are considered 'national' LL (CONFEMEN 1983 I:228/9).

The provision of the Independence C of 08/11/1960: art 1: "The official language shall be French", is still in force.

35. NIGERIA: English(o), Hausa(d/w), Yoruba(d), Igbo(d), Pidgin

IAI 1983 reports estimates of 21/38% Hausa, 20/25% Yoruba and 17/22% Igbo L1/L2 speakers. The L2 figure for Hausa speakers may well be higher, as it is widely used throughout the north (50%P) not only as L2, but also as L3.

Though English remains the (o), the 1979 C stipulates that the 3 'major' LL, above, can be used in the Legislature as soon as convenient, whilst each state legislature can choose its own LL of proceedings, in addition to E, which is the 'link' language (cf. Brann 1980).

36. RWANDA: Kinyarwanda (Rwanda)(o/d), French(o), Swahili(w)

IAI reports 95% L1/L2 speakers for Rwanda, 10% for Swahili.

Rwanda is the sole demolect, but Swahili is the lingua franca of the capital. Though linguistically, Rwanda forms a continuum with Rundi, the two are differentiated by their names as national LL (cf. Swazi etc.).

The C of 20/12/1978 stipulates, like earlier versions, that, art. 4: "The national language is Kinyarwanda, the official languages are Kinyarwanda and French".

37. ST THOMAS & PRINCE ISLANDS (SAO TOME & PRINCIPE): Portuguese(o), Crioulo(w)

The Portuguese-Crioulo diglossia is described by L.I. Ferré in "The creole of Sao Tome" (Witswatersrad U.P., 1979), according to which Crioulo is spoken by total P, and is also written, whilst for official purposes only Portuguese is used. C 05/11/1975 is silent.

38. SENEGAL: French(o), Wolof(w), Pulaar(w), Serer(k), Duyla(w), Malinke(w), Soninke(k)

Unesco/BREDA, based on the studies of CLAD, cites 31% al L1 and 75% with L2 speakers for Wolof. IAI 1980/83, reiterated by CONFEMEN, cites 37% L1 and 75-80% total. The figures for Pulaar, Serer, Duyla, Malinke and Soninke are

38. SENEGAL (continued)
only given for L1 speakers by IAI, but with variation in 1980/1983: 21%; 13%/16%; 6.9%/5.6%; 6.1%/5.7%; 2%/1.8%. The number of L2 speakers of Duyla and Malinke can be expected to be considerably higher than L1. The 1980 figures were based on the 1961 census. Calvet/CLAD (1971) opines that no less than 15% P use French habitually, as cited by IAI 1980. With more formal education, the figure may have increased, although Dumont 1983 is skeptical.

The position of French as sole (o) has not changed since Independence C, cf. art. 1. 26/02/1970 (B&F) "The official language of the Republic of Senegal shall be French". However, in the treaty of Confederation with Gambia, each state maintains its own (o), French for Senegal, English for Gambia. The link language between the two countries is essentially Wolof, which may thus be expected to increase in importance. The six endolects listed above (out of 23 listed territorial LL) were declared 'national languages' by law in 1971, for educational purposes.

39. SEYCHELLES: English(d), French(d), Créole(d)
IAI 1983 gives the L1/L2 figures for the 3 demolects as: 03/38%; 1.9/29% and 94/97%, showing the triglottic configuration of the islands.

The C of 26/03/1979 (effective 05/06/1979) Pt I, art. 4. states that: "The national languages of Seychelles are English, French and Créole, but the President may, by regulation under this section, prescribe the occasions when one or more than one of those languages shall be used, and, if he does, the other languages, or language shall not be used on the prescribed occasions". This is the only C, to our knowledge, where social triglossia is embedded in the C, as distinct from the official trilingualism of Switzerland.

40. SIERRA LEONE: English(o), Krio(w), Mende(w), Temne(w)
Dalby (1962:62-67) reported on Mende as the largest ethnic group with 36% L1 speakers, whilst IAI 1980/83 cites 31% L1%; a 45% L2 may be posited. Bruk-Rustow-Unesco/BREDA cites 52% for the Temne-Bulom-Sherbo continuum, whilst IAI cites 30% L1 for Temne only. Krio in IAI 1980/83 is attributed 1.9% L1 speakers, but it is used alongside English, Mende and Temne for official news broadcasts, as well as lingua franca for inter-ethnic communication (Jones in Spencer 1971), supposing a figure of at least 25% L2 speakers.

The C at present in force stipulates, (art. 61 of 14/06/1978) that ..."the business of Parliament shall be conducted in the English language".

41. SOMALIA: Somali(o/d), Arabic(o), Swahili, Italian(p)
IAI 1980-83 cites 97% L1 and 98% L1/L2 speakers, after Andrzejewski 1969. To some extent Swahili and a pidginized form of Italian are also used as lingua francas.

Art. 3 of the C of Sep. 1979 of the Somali Democratic Republic reads: "Somali is the language which all Somalis speak and through which they recognize each other; Arabic is the language which links the Somali people to the Arab nation, of whom they are an integral part, and the two languages shall constitute the official language of the Somali Democratic Republic" (B&F).

42. SOUTH AFRICA: Afrikaans(o/w), English(o/w), Zulu(k), Xhosa(k)
Of the nine literary vernaculars cited in Kloss 1978: Zulu,Xhosa,sePedi, Tswana, N.&S., Sotho, Tsonga, Swazi and Vanda, only Zulu and Xhosa are listed here, as having each more than 10% L1 speakers. IAI 1983 cites 19% and 18% L1 respectively, the L2 figures being greater. For Afrikaans and English the IAI (official) figures are 19% and 9.8% L1 speakers respectively, but both are spoken as official and link LL. Kloss (1978:14) cites as L2 figure for English 24%.

Whilst according to art. 108 of the C, both English and Afrikaans are (oo), each autonomous region can have its own (o).

43. SUDAN: Arabic(o/d/w), Dinka(k)
Morrison 1971:245, Heine 1979:33/34 and IAI cite Arabic L1 as 50%; another 20% P is estimated to speak it as L2 - 70% total. Of the autochthonous (southern) LL, only Dinka is attributed 10% L1 speakers by IAI, but the C makes provision for the use of these southern LL in the Legislature. No figures are yet given for English but according to IAI: though it has lost its official position, it is still widely used in education.

The C of 18/11/1958, art. 10 stipulates that Arabic is both the official and national L., whilst C of 08/05/1973 Pt I, art 10 states: "The Arabic L shall be the official L of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan" (B&F).

44. SWAZILAND: English(o), Swazi(Swati)(d)
SiSwati as the national L is spoken by 91% P as L1 a/c to IAI. The L is closely related to Zulu-Xhosa, with which it forms a continuum, and from it borrows educational materials (cf. configuration in Rwanda/Burundi).

44. SWAZILAND (suite)

According to the C of 12/04/1973 (by royal procalamation), Parliament regulates its own procedure, i.e. decides which LL shall be used.

45. TANZANIA: Swahili (o/d/w), English

The L1% of Swahili speakers is reported as 5-10% in IAI (cf. Kenya), but 70-90% total P. Morrison (1972:355) estimates 88% total, Heine (1979:34) over 70% users. Of the 115 vernaculars (Ethnologue 1978) in the country, IAI cites kiSukuma with 12% L1 speakers, as the only L1 above 10%.

The current C of 25/04/1977 was pubished in 1978 in Swahili only, and was not translated until July 1979 by the Foreign Office (B&F).

46. TOGO: French(o), Ewe(d/w), Kabre/k/w

Ewe, the lingua franca of the south, is attributed 22% L1 speakers in IAI (1973) figures, whilst Morrison (1972:361) estimates 50% as the total L1/L2 P. For Kabre IAI cites 13% L1 speakers, 14% in Heine (1979:45) and 22% in Rustow (in Fishman 1968:96). Morrison (loc. cit.) gives 20% total speakers, whilst CONFEMEN cites an L1/L2 figure of 43%. Ewe and Kabre have been declared regional national LL for the south and north respectively.

French was designated (o) in the Independence C of 23/11/1960, art. 1: "The official L of the Republic shall be French". But in the new C of 03/12/1979, (o) is not mentioned B&F).

47. TUNISIA: Arabic(o/d), French

IAI reports 94% L1 for Arabic, the remaining L1 speakers being Berber. French is used by a fairly large (but yet unspecified) percentage.

The C of 01/06/1959, ch. I, art. 1. reads: "Tunisia is a free state, independent and sovereign; its religion is Islam, its language is Arabic and its regime is the Republic" (R&F).

48. UGANDA: English (o), Luganda(k), Swahili(w)

Of the 6 regional official LL - Luganda, Ateso, Runyankore, Tuooro, Lango-Acholi, Lugbara - only Luganda exceeds 10%, with 16% L1 and 39% total speakers, a/c IAI 1980/83. Swahili L2 users are estimated at 35% by IAI and English 21% L2.

48. UGANDA (suite)

Whilst art 111 of the C of 13/03/1971 stipulated that "The official language of the Government of Uganda shall be English", the current C of 03/10/1980 is silent (B&F).

49. UPPER VOLTA (HAUTE VOLTA): French (o), Moore(Mossi), Dyula
Out of the 13 (out of 48) 'national' LL cited in IAI, only Moore/Mossi exceeds 10%, with 48% L1 speakers, but no L2 P is listed. Bruk-Rustow-Unesco/BREDA apportioned 54% to Moore, Roberts 56%, Morrison 55% and Heine 57%. The higher figure may be taken as to total L1/L2 figure. Dyula, a Mande dialect, is used as (w) by some 21% in toto.

After a decade of independence, the C of 24/06/1970 ChaI, art.3 stipulates: "The official language shall be French. The modalities for the promotion and official recognition of native languages shall be established by Law" (B&F). The French original reads: "La langue officielle est le français. Une loi fixe les modalités de promotion et d'officialisation des langues nationales" (CONFEMEN I:166).

50. Western SAHARA: Arabic(o/d/w) Berber(c)
Whilst the autochthonous LL are Berber dialects, the (w) is Hassaniya, used in diglossia. The spread of Hassaniya is described by C. Taine-Cheick in Barreteau 1978:263-78. The C cited by B&F has Arabic as only(o), Spanish having been jettisoned. Ch.I, art. 3: ..."The Arabic language is the official national language".

51. ZAIRE: Luba(k), Kongo(k), Swahili(k/w), Ngala(k/w), French(o)
Figures cited by IAI 1983 for L1 and L2 speakers, for the four national LL are: 7/18%; 6/18%; 4/25%; 2/38%, i.e. both Swahili and Ngala are spoken by more than one quarter P each. However, the relative P of the two(ww) is subject to debate between Mateene 1980 and Mudimbe 1978, and have not been determined by census.

No reference to L is made in the current C (B&F), but Turi reports (1977: 163) that a previous C stipulated. "French shall be the official language of Parliament. Each chamber may, however, decide to use other working languages".

52. ZAMBIA: English(o), Bemba(d/w), Nyanja (d/w), Tonga(k), Lozi(k)
Of the 7 'national' LL (out of a total of 28, reported by Ethnologue), the 4 cited above have more than 10% L2 speakers. The percentages of L1 and L2 speakers respectively are: 19/56%; 11/42%, 11/23%, 5.6/17%, from which it is seen that both Bemba and Nyanja are spoken by approx. half the population. Nyanja as Chewa is also the national L of Malawi (q.v.) (c.f. for national autonyms Rwanda/Burundi, Swaziland/South Africa).

Whereas the Constitution of Zambia Act of 28/09/1973, art 70 lays down English as the official language of the legislature, art. 72 provides for members of the Upper House (of Chiefs) permission to speak in "a specified vernacular language commonly spoken in Zambia" (Turi and B&F), i.e. in one of the national languages.

53. ZIMBABWE: English(o), Shona(k), Ndebele(k)
Shona, according to Doke 1931, cited in Heine (1979:49) is the ethnolect of 78% P, i.e. is the majority L, whilst IAI 1983 cites the 1969 official figures as 67% L1 speakers. For Ndebele, IAI cites 15% L1 speakers. No L1/L2 figures are given for English.

Whilst the Rhodesian C of 02/03/1970, art. 81 made English the only(o), the text of the C of Zimbabwe, as contained in B&F is silent on the L question.

SUMMARY OF DATA ON NATIONAL & OFFICIAL LANGUAGES IN AFRICA

Figures are percentages: the 1st for L1, the 2nd for LX, within the state.

1. ALGERIA: Arabic(o,d), 80/95*, Berber 19, French 01/25*
2. ANGOLA: Portuguese(o), 1/10*, Umbundu(k) 38/?, Mbundu(k) 27/?, Kongo(k) 12/?
3. BENIN: French(o) 5/30*, Fon(c/w) 26/63, Yoruba(c/) 16/20*, Bariba 12/12(c)
4. BOTSWANA: Tswana(o/d) ?/98; English(o) 10/25*
5. BURUNDI: Rundi(o/d) ?/95; French(o) 05/20*, Swahili(w) 0/20
6. CAP VERDE: Portuguese(o) 20/50*; 95/95 (d), Crioulo 90/95*
7. CAMEROON: French(o) 05/30*; English(o) 01/15*; Ewondo (c) 8.1/24, Duala 01/15*, Fulfulde(c/w) 8/20*, Pidgin(w) 0/20
8. CENTRAFRIQUE: French(o) 03/15*, Sango(d/w); 04/70*; Gbaya-Manza(c) 39/?; Banda 34/47
9. CHAD: French(o) 01/10*; Arabic(o/w) 14/55; Sara (c/w) 19/25
10. COMOROS: Comorian(d) 90*/?; French(o) 0/10; Arabic(o) 0/10*
11. CONGO: French(o) 05/20*; Ngala(w) 0/25%; Munukutuba 0/25; Kongo(c) 50/?; Teke(c) 20/?
12. DJIBUTI: Somali(d) 36/70*; Afar(d) 31/35*; French(o) 0/10*; Arabic(o) 05/25*
13. EGYPT: Arabic(o/d) 95/98*, English(t) 0/05*
14. EQUATORIAL GUINEA: Spanish(o) 05*/30; Fang(c) 75/80; Bube 06/?
15. ETHIOPIA: Amharic(o/k/w) 31/40; Oromo(k) 27/30*; Tigrinya 14/17*
16. GABON: French(o) 10/40*; Fang(c) 35/50
17. GAMBIA: English(o) 05/15*; Mandinka 40/45*; Fulfulde 18/?; Wolof 16/25*; Dyula 10/20*; Soninke 9
18. GHANA: English(o) 05/40*; Akan(d) 44/50*; Dagbani 14/?; Ewe(k) 13/20*; Kasem 01/?; Hausa 0/10*
19. GUINEA: French(o) ?/15*; Pulaar(w) 40/50*; Maninka 22/45; Susu 10/16
20. GUINEA-BISSAU: Portuguese(o) 05/15*; Balante 30/?; Pulaar 21/?; Manjaku 14/?; Mandinka(w) 12/20*; Crioulo(w) 10/35*
21. IVORY COAST: French(o) 05*/25*; Baule-Anyi 30/64; Bete 6/?; Mandinka-Duyla 11/61; Senufo 10/?
22. KENYA: English(o) 05/25; Swahili (o/d/w) 01/65; Kikuyu(k) 20/25; Luo(k) 14/16; Luhya(k) 13/14*; Kalenjin 11/?; Kamba 11/?(k)
23. LESOTHO: Sotho(o/d) 85/99; English(o) 05/60*
24. LIBERIA: English(o/w) 05/20*; Kru-Bassa 25/?; Kpelle 23/?; Grebo-Krahn 15/? Liberian English 05/20

Abbreviations: o- official L; d- demolect; k- choralect: c- chthonolect i.e. 3 forms of 'national'LL.; w- L of wider communication, lingua franca.

25. LIBYA: Arabic(o/d) 83/99*
26. MADAGASCAR: Malagasy(o/d) 99; 05/15*
27. MALAWI: English(o/) 0/10; Chewa 50/77; Lonwe 15/?: Yao 14/19
28. MALI: French(o) 0/10*; Bambara 45/80; Fulfulde(c) 12/?; Soninke 9/?; Sena/Mianka 9/?
29. MAURETANIA: Arabic(o/d) 80/90*; Fulfulde(k) 6/?; Soninke 3/?; Wolof 7/15*
30. MAURITIUS: English(o) 05/60*; French(w) 60*; Créole(w) 52/94; Hindustani 40*/?
31. MOROCCO: Arabic(o/w) 65/85; Berber(c) 38/?; French(w) 0/20*
32. MOZAMBIQUE: Portuguese(o/w) 05/25; Makua-Lonwe 38/?; Tsonga 24/?
33. NAMIBIA: Afrikaans (o/w)?; English(o) ?; German(o) ?; Ovambo ?/46
34. NIGER: French(o) 0/5*; Hausa(k/w) 46/88; Songhai(k) 21/?; Fulfulde(k) 14/? Tamashek(k) 11/?; Kanuri 7/?
35. NIGERIA: English(o/w) 02*/30*; Hausa(d/w) 21/38; Yoruba(d) 20/25; Igbo(d) 17/22; Pidgin(w) 0/25
36. RWANDA: Rwanda(o/d) 95/95; French(o) 0/10; Swahili 0/10
37. ST THOMAS & PRINCE: Portuguese(o) 05/15*; Crioulo 100/100
38. SENEGAL: French(o) 0/15; Wolof(k/w) 31/75; Pulaar(k/w) 21/25; Serer(k) 16/?; Dyula 6/20*; Malinke 6/?; Soninke 2/?
39. SEYCHELLES: English(d) 3/38; French(d) 2/29; Créole(d) 94/97
40. SIERRA LEONE: English(o) 05*/18; Krio(w) 2/20*; Mende(w) 36/?; Temne(w) 30/52
41. SOMALIA: Somali(o/d) 97/98; Arabic(o) 1/20*; Swahili, Italian(p)?; Afar 10/?
42. SOUTH AFRICA: Afrikaans(o/w) 19/?; English(o/w) 9/25*; Zulu(k)19/?; Xhosa 18/?
43. SUDAN: Arabic(o/d/w) 50/70; Dinka(k) 10/?
44. SWAZILAND: English(o) 0/36; Swazi 91/99(d)
45. TANZANIA: Swahili(o/d/w) 5/70; English ?; Sukuma 12/?
46. TOGO: French(o/) 2*/30*; Ewe(d/w)22/50; Kabre(k/w)13/22
47. TUNISIA: Arabic(o/d) 94/100; French 3/30*
48. UGANDA: English(o) 0/21; Luganda(k) 16/39; Swahili(w) ?/35
49. UPPER VOLTA: French(o) 0/10*; Moore(c) 48/55; Dyula(w) ?/21
50. Western SAHARA: Arabic(o/w) ? Berber ?
51. ZAIRE: French(0) 0/15; Luba(k) 7/18; Kongo(k) 6/18; Swahili(k/w)4/25; Ngala (k/w) 2/30
52. ZAMBIA: English(o) 0/15*; Bemba(d/w) 19/56; Nyanja(d/w)11/42; Tonga(k)11/23; Lozi(k) 6/17
53. ZIMBABAWE: English(o) 5/25*; Shona(k) 67/78; Ndebele(k) 15/?

N.B. * are estimates, based on school enrolment ratios.

DOMINANT ETHNOLECTS, LINGUA FRANCAS, CREOLES AND EXOLECTS IN AFRICA: percentages for L1/L2 combined

40% F		*50% E*		*60% D*		*70% C*		*80% B*		*90% A*	
AMHARIC ETH	31/40	ARABIC CHD	14/55	BAULE IVY	30/64	ARABIC SUD	50/70	ARABIC MOR	65/85	ARABIC ALG	80/95
BANDA CAR	34/47	BEMBA ZAM	19/56	FON BEN	26/63	ARABIC SAH	x/70	BAMBARA MLI	45/80	ARABIC EGY	95/98
CRIOULO BIS	10/35	EWE TOG	22/50	MANDINGO IVY	11/61	CHEWA MWI	50/77	FAN EQU	75/80	ARABIC LYA	83/99
		FANG GAB	35/50	WAHILI KEN	1/65	SANGO CAR	04/70	HAUSA NIG	46/88	ARABIC MRA	80/90
		KONGO CGO	50/			SHONA ZIM	67/78			ARABIC TUN	94/99
HAUSA NIA	21/88	MOORE VOL	48/55			SOMALI SOM	36/70			COMORIAN	90/
HINDUSTANI MRS	40/	PULAAR GUI	40/50			SWAHILI TAN	05/70			CREOLE MRS	52/94
MANDINGO GAM	40/45	TEMNE SIE	30/52			WOLOF SEN	31/75			CREOLE ROD	95/99
MANDINGO GUI	22/45	AKAN GHA	44/50							CREOLE SEY	94/97
MAKUA MOZ	38/									CRIOULO CAP	90/95
MENDE SIE	36/									CRIOULO STT	100
GANDA UGA	16/39									MALAGSY	99
OVAMBO NAM	x/46									RWANDA	95
NYANJA ZAM	11/42									RUNDI	95
										SOMALI	97/98
										SWAZI	91/99
										SOTHO	85/99
										TSWANA	x/98

NB. The following states have no majority languages:
ANGOLA, CAMAROON, LIBERIA, SOUTH AFRICA, ZAIRE, NAMIBIA
The following states have 2 majority languages:
CENTRAFRIQUE, GUINEA, IVORY COAST, SIERRA LEONE, ZAMBIA
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